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LUDOVÍT ŠTÚR AND HIS PLACE IN THE SLAVIC WORLD

By Joseph Kirschbaum, LL.D., Ph.D.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Among Slovaks of the XIXth century who acquired their fame in the Slavic world, Ludovít Štúr (born 1815, died 1856) is among his contemporaries, poet Ján Kollár and ethnologist Pavel J. Šafárik, one whose rôle and significance are still to be reconsidered and objectively re-evaluated. Though nobody tried to claim him because some of his works were written in foreign languages, as it happened to Kollár and Šafárik, who even now are classified as Czech poets and scholars, the literary value of Štúr's works and the seriousness of his political and philosophical conceptions were questioned and often intentionally underestimated and distorted.

While even scholars and literary historians at today's communist universities reevaluated — despite Štúr's well-known condemnation of Communism⁽¹⁾ — his literary heritage and classified him among outstanding Slavic poets⁽²⁾, philologists, philosophers and political leaders of the XIXth century — in many scholarly works in the free world he has been presented again and again "mediocre as a writer and thinker, but full of the typical sentimentalism and lyricism of the period, a man who like many at that time devoted all his life to the cause of his people and spent himself in its service."⁽³⁾

This judgment, which is quoted from Hans Kohn's "Pan-Slavism, Its History and Ideology," one of the most objective and up to date works on the subject, was uncritically repeated since it appeared for the first time in Ernest Denis' book "La Question d' Autriche — Les Slovaques," published in 1917.⁽⁴⁾ Actually, this superficial and antagonistic view has been based on a thesis "Louis Stur

et l' idée d' indépendance slovaque," prepared by a young university student from Central Europe, H. Tourzer, who compiled unfavorable views and interpretations of Štúr's work by contemporary Czech and Slovak literary critics and Štúr's opponents. Instead of basing her judgment on a critical analysis of Štúr's works, the young candidate for a Ph.D., Tourzer, presented Štúr to the Western world in accordance with some political tendencies but in a highly unobjective light.

Needless to say that neither Denis, nor Seton-Watson — another authority on the Slovak question — nor Hans Kohn, nor Kann ever analyzed and read Štúr's works, some of them never translated into foreign languages and, consequently, the conclusions published in their books hardly resulted from their own analysis.⁽⁵⁾

After a century, while commemorating Štúr's centenary of death, we feel obliged to shed an objective light on Štúr's work, his literary heritage, and his rôle in the Slavic world of the XIXth century. We are in a position to base our judgments not only on all his works — which until recently were not available in extenso — but on a hundred years span of time, which tested many of his conceptions and achievements and as the heat of the antagonists, who hated and debased him for political reasons, cooled down to a great extent by force of the vitality of Štúr's ideas and the righteousness of his conceptions.

Looking for Štúr's place in the Slavic world, naturally we cannot avoid some purely Slovak cultural and political issues, though there is a great deal of truth in Hans Kohn's words that "the Slovak nation, with its own literary language, was definitely established"⁽⁶⁾ by the merits of Štúr's manifold activities, and this cannot, of course, be without interest for a student of the Slavic world in the field of linguistics, ethnology, history, or politics. Avoiding Štúr's rôle and his historical achievements within a purely national range of his activities, an analysis of his works, conceptions, and lifelong struggles moves us to consider Štúr's place in the Slavic world, 1) in the Pan-Slavic movement; 2) in the field of linguistics; and, 3) in literature.

I

EUDOVÍT ŠTÚR AND PAN-SLAVISM

Seton-Watson, one of the best English experts on Slovakia's past cultural and political struggles and aspirations, assessed Štúr's significance in the Slavic world together with Kollár's and Šafárik's rôle, stating that "their writings were of capital importance in the whole Slav revival of the last century, and form a strange sentimental link between the Western romantic school and the extravagancies of Pan-Slavism."⁽⁷⁾

And referring to the first Slav Congress in Prague in 1848, Seton-Watson says that Štúr "played a decisive part in the preparations for the Congress" and that at the Congress the four Slovaks — Šafárik, Štúr, Hurban and Hodža — played a part second to none save Palacký.⁽⁸⁾

These two opinions on Štúr's significance in the Pan-Slavic movement call for an analysis and completion in order to be understood properly. Quite a few of the experts on Slavic studies know Štúr as a writer predominantly from his last work, written around 1855 in German and never published in Štúr's native language, entitled "**Das Slaventhum und die Welt der Zukunft**" (Slavdom and the World of the Future), which was published in Russian translation in 1867, and its specially printed edition was presented to the foreign Slavic delegates to the Moscow Slav Congress in order to attract attention to the political views of the Russian organizers of the Congress. The book represents, according to Prof. Lednicki, an "integral Pan-Slavism, practically degenerating into Pan-Russianism, and a quite exceptional tribute to the cultural, moral and political forces of the Russian Empire."⁽⁹⁾ And in view of a recent analysis by Michael Petrovich, which seems to be one of the best documented and objective, the work "is a romantic mélange of science and poetry presented in a vigorous style and an argumentation which is remarkably consequential even when mistaken."⁽¹⁰⁾

Though Štúr was quite a prolific writer and his works embraced many fields of intellectual activities from history and poetry to philosophy and philology⁽¹¹⁾, for the last hundred years it has been, nevertheless, the above

mentioned book which made Štúr known among the students of Slavistics outside his native land and, therefore, an analysis seems to be opportune on this occasion.

What are the main ideas and the principal reasons that this little book — probably only an introduction to a larger history of the Slavs — made Štúr one of the major figures among the Slavic intelligentsia of the nineteenth century?

Even if we do not accept the view of Prof. Lednicki that the work presents “the most complete and consistently developed program for the subjugation of Slavs to Russia” — Seton-Watson’s view is that even in this book Štúr’s aim was to preserve his own people — it was, among all reasons for its fame, Štúr’s political and philosophical conceptions which stirred the greatest interest in it. Štúr adopted Hegel’s and Herder’s ideas that gave the Slavs the consciousness of a unity based upon the community of language and glorious destiny, and proclaimed them the coming leaders of Europe. He was thrilled by the vision of a gigantic empire sprawling from the Carpathians of his own native land to the shores of the Pacific. Drawing on history, philosophy, literature, philology, theology, and folklore, as well as on a penetrating insight into contemporary events, Štúr emphasized that the Slavs have a mission to fulfill in universal history — or, in other words, that they have a historic vocation. This mission, however, they can fulfill only if united, and in his analysis of the world situation, in which he presents an apocalyptic vision of Western Europe’s doom, there were three roads to consider:

1. Slavic federation without Russia.
2. Transformation of Austria into a Slavic federation.
3. Union with Russia — as a monarchic empire under Russian leadership, united in the Orthodox Church and the Russian literary language.

Neither of the first two solutions had an appeal to Štúr’s vision of Slavdom’s future and to his philosophy of history. Any attempt to organize a federation of European Slavic nations was doomed to failure in his opinion, because of the geographical situation, internal rivalries, re-

ligious differences, cultural differentiation, and intermingled non-Slavic elements. Though a few years ago, at the Slav Congress in Prague⁽¹²⁾, he was not far from accepting Palacký's idea of Austroslavism and led the Slovaks on the side of the Habsburg's forces against the Magyars in the revolution of 1848, his books condemn in strong terms Austria and the idea of an Austro-Slavic federation. "There remains a third road," Štúr insists, "the only one which is sure and has a future — the Union of all Slavs with Russia."

"Russia is the prime mover and the leader of our national family," continues Štúr. "Our people are but a fragment of a single nationality, they can be reborn and united into a single whole only by a related benevolent and great Power." That Power among the Slavs in Štúr's time was only Russia. "Let us go forth together," urges Štúr, "in the spirit of our people, under the leadership of the racial elders given to us by history."

How was this Russian-led Slavic Union to come about?

Štúr recommended a return of all Slavs to the Greco-Slavic Church, urged the adoption of the Russian language and Cyrillic alphabet by all Slavs as a common literary language, but how to change the political situation of the Slavic peoples dominated by Austria and Turkey and bring them under the Russian leadership, Štúr did not venture to say. He acknowledged that it could be realized only "under the pressure of grave political events" and therefore, he writes: "We do not consider it necessary, and we even consider it superfluous, to define prematurely the means of unification and degree of the reciprocal relations of the Slavs with Russia. The means and the degree of this unification will emerge from circumstances yet to come about. But it is useful," he concludes, "at least to raise the question, to speak about this subject and to prepare our minds for it."

Štúr's political and philosophical conceptions expressed in this book remain a puzzle even to such experts on his writings as Prof. Číževskij⁽¹³⁾, and they never were explained either by his own compatriots or anyone else.

Štúr adopted Hegel's idea of the succession of various nations on the historical stage as a consecutive incarnation of the universal spirit while studying in Halle, where he came into contact with German nationalism and philosophy. After his return to his native land, however, Štúr became a passionate champion of Slovak national independence and fought for a distinct Slovak literary language even against Kollár and his Czech friends. He was for the idea of Slavic reciprocity, and many things stirred his Slavic pride, but his Pan-Slavism was, until this book appeared, a cultural, more or less defensive movement, with emphasis on language, literature, and culture, and politically it aimed at the liberation of his people and other Slavic oppressed nations from foreign rule, with Russia's help, but not under Russia's hegemony.

Číževskij and some other experts on Štúr's writings try to explain Štúr's political re-orientation mainly as a result of political events in Central Europe and particularly in Slovakia after the unsuccessful revolution of 1848, and such is also our opinion.

"It was in a conflicting mood of helplessness and inversely high hopes in salvation from Slavic Russia that Štúr wrote his famous work," is the explanation of another Slavist, Prof. Petrovich. "The failure of the Slovak revolution and other political demonstrations (May 1, 1848, Lipt. sv. Mikuláš) brought Štúr to the conclusion that it was useless for his people to seek its own freedom alone or in the frame of Austroslavism." Štúr made it clear, however, even in this book, that his principal aim was to preserve his own people, and besides he set out to accomplish four basic tasks:

1. To determine, largely by reviewing the Slavic past, whether the Slavs had a rôle of their own to fulfill in world history; 2. to describe the Slavic mission in universal history against the background of the cultural differences between Western and Eastern Europe; 3. to show what advantages the Slavs possessed by comparing their institutions, traditions, and qualities with those of the West; 4. to demonstrate that the Slavs could accomplish their mission only through political unification under Russian leadership⁽¹⁴⁾.

No doubt, this was a new look on the Slavic world. Was it original? We cannot deny that he applied some Hegelian principles of philosophy, such as the primacy of the idea in man's development, Hegel's dialectical approach to historical evolution, and Herder's vision of Slavdom taking place in succession of the bearers of the idea. But there are many original approaches in his book which cannot be linked either with German philosophy or Russian Slavophiles, which is the second of alleged influences. Čiževskij defends Štúr's originality(15).

Florinskij, in the preface to the second edition of Štúr's book (1905), stresses that Štúr is very close to the viewpoints of the Russian Slavophiles, Chomiakov, Pogodin, Kiriejevski, Aksakov, and their successors, but he also says that "insofar as one can judge by known biographical data, Štúr's views arose in him independently, apart from any influence of Russian Slavophilism whatsoever." And such also was the opinion of Prof. A. Budilovič and others(16).

Štúr's biographical data speak, in fact, against dependence on Slavophiles, though he knew Bodianski, Pogodin, Ševyrev, Sreznevski, Raevski, and others. We can, therefore, defend his originality in many regards, especially if we consider the intellectual climate of Europe in Štúr's time and if we take into account that Slovakia — with Kollár and Šafárik and Herkel, who invented the term "panslavismus," — was the classic land of Slavic reciprocity and that "as in name, so in sentiment, the Slovak never ceased being a Slav."

Since N. I. Danilevskij and R. A. Fadejev came many years after Štúr's death(17), Štúr can be rightly considered as the founder of political Pan-Slavism, of which Kollár was the poet and Šafárik the scientist.

II

ŠTÚR'S RÔLE IN LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY

The rôle of Ludovít Štúr in the field of Slavic studies is generally little known outside of Slovakia. In English, French and German published works, Štúr is presented mainly as a political leader⁽¹⁸⁾, a mediocre poet, owing his fame in the Slavic world to his treatise "**Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft**" which is, as we mentioned before, a study of a political, sociological, and philosophical character.

A few years ago Professor D. Čiževskij, in his German book — translated in the meantime into the Slovak under the title "*Štúrova filozofia života*" (Štúr's Philosophy of Life) — found however, that Štúr was also a philosopher of considerable knowledge and originality⁽¹⁹⁾. He shows, of course, dependence on Hegel and contemporary German philosophers. But to present him in such a light, as if he had blindly applied Hegel's philosophy to Slavic or Slovak life, as he was accused by his opponents, seems to be a malicious distortion. In view of Čiževskij's analysis, Štúr's generation had several thinkers who tried to create their own philosophical system and who, in their time, among Slavic nations excelled in originality of thinking. As for Štúr's philosophy, Čiževskij refuted in his book the assertions that: 1. Štúr was a simple follower of Hegel; 2. that his philosophical views were those of contemporary romantic philosophy. In Čiževskij's opinion Štúr formed an independent philosophical system which in many ways differs from that of Hegel, and his approach to life's phenomena were highly realistic⁽²⁰⁾.

This, however, is not our concern in the present analysis. Considering Štúr's rôle in linguistics and philology, it would be unjust and incorrect not to recognize his merits⁽²¹⁾. Štúr was no Jagič or Miklošič as far as overall Slavic philology is concerned, but without exaggeration we may say that the rôle, along with A. Bernolák, was that of Vuk Karadžič, Gaj, or Vraz in establishing new literary Slavic languages.

There have been until recently many misconceptions as far as the Slovak language, its history and place among

the Slavic languages are concerned. A thorough study of phonology, etymology, lexicography, and grammar now shows that the Slovak language is distinct from any other Slavic tongue. This was not so clear and evident one hundred years ago when contemporary theories in linguistics were still based on primitive methods and the science of philology was in its infancy. Modern techniques in linguistics have thrown new light on the subject and have been instrumental in giving us modified views that are far advanced beyond the hasty, unwarranted conclusions of a century ago.

It is to Štúr's credit that — after a century of clashes and discussions between Czech linguists and the Slovak Catholic intelligentsia, who replaced the Latin already in the 17th century with a Slovak literary language — the Slovak language was properly classified as the real and original national tongue of the inhabitants of Slovakia since the dawn of history, and Štúr helped to establish it irrevocably among Slavic languages of the Western group. Štúr accepted the phonetic orthography of Bernolák which from the philological and practical standpoint best answered the purpose, but for scientific and ideological reasons he decided to adopt the dialect of Central Slovakia and not the western Slovak dialect used since 1635 at the University of Trnava and codified by Bernolák in his Grammar and huge dictionary, the latter in six languages(22).

It would be superfluous now to point out that formulating purely scientific views on the proper relations between the Czech and Slovak languages, most of the Czech and other philologists and literary historians were influenced by political views and aspirations. The claim that Slovak is but a dialect of the older Czech was not based on facts of history or philology. It was, according to Štúr a biased opinion of those who wished to deny to the Slovaks the right to their independent national life. Though Štúr's works in the field of philology — "Nárečia slovenskô" (Slovak dialect) and his Grammar — are marked by amateurism of XIXth century patriots, and it would be difficult to call him "a scholar trained in the science

of philology," nevertheless he grasped the true basis of the Slovak language by a careful analysis of the fundamental roots of the Czech and Slovak languages and by a comparative study of their developments.

Modern philological research gave Štúr reason in many respects. According to Professor Bartek, Štúr, who studied and spoke several Slavic languages and was acquainted with comparative philology, was "in his time an extraordinary good philologist, who intuitively often correctly came upon certain individual characteristics of the Slovak language, so that even a modern philological analysis of his work will confirm the correctness of many of Štúr's linguistic findings, the justification for which science in that period could not prove(23).

Štúr's view that the Slovak language developed independently was confirmed also by Trubeckoj, who considers the disappearance of the lesser vowel sounds (*slabé jery*) in the Slavic derivatives as the last common change and the date of birth of the Slavic languages. The end of the vowel signs in fact caused a fundamental change in the phonological technique of the Slavic dialects, as well as in the original forms in many instances, so that the entire phonological structure was revised, not uniformly but individually, in each Slavic dialect, which fact brought into being the independent Slavic languages as we have them today(24).

Štúr considered the Slovak language as the central and cardinal language among all the Slavic tongues. We, of course, can question this from the linguistical point of view and accept that Štúr wished to emphasize the central position of Slovakia linguistically, historically, and geographically as the centrum of all Slavdom. Štúr viewed the position of the Slovak language as a central clearing-house mainly because he was conscious of many of its similarities with the Slavic tongues of the East, West, North and South, especially noting the agreement with the Yugoslav dialects with which the Slovak came into intimate contact in the tenth century as is evident from the presence of Yugoslavism in the Slovak language even today.

According to Štúr, in the ninth century the Old Sla-

vonian was still the common tongue of the Slavs with a unified phonology. From the ninth century different dialects developed into distinct Slavic languages, among them also the Slovak tongue. This thesis is strengthened also by the fact that the Slovak territory in the eleventh century was annexed by Hungary and, hence, the only contact the Slovaks had with the Czechs was through the Moravians who have continued to speak a Slovakian dialect in spite of the pressure of the Czechs from the West and to the present time have retained their own phonological structure.

Štúr's claim that the Slovak language never was a part of the Czech, or the so-called "czechoslovak" language, was based on assumptions many of which were in the meantime proven correct by scientific research of authorities on the subject⁽²⁵⁾.

Professor Senn formulated the results of the new research in this regard in his study on Slavic linguistics, published in "A Handbook of Slavic Studies," edited by Prof. Strakhovský, and Prof. Henry Bartek from the University of Bratislava, who dedicated to this problem several of his works, says that "we may rightly claim that at the time of the disintegration of the Old Slavonic, the era saw the rise of new, independent Slavic languages, among them being also the Slovak, whose development cannot be identified with that of the Czech language." According to Bartek, the ancient phonological nature of the Slovak language certainly indicates that even in the centuries that followed the disappearance of the Old Slavonic, the Slovak tongue was not subject to a common evolution with the Czech which possesses its own unique phonological system, which is quite different from the Slovak." "In conclusion," says Bartek, "we may say that the Slovak language is by every right of its origin and development an independent tongue having its rightful place of equality alongside the Czech or any other Slavic tongue," as Štúr asserted over a hundred years ago.

III

ŠTÚR'S LITERARY AESTHETICS AND CULTURAL
ACHIEVEMENTS

There was for a long time no unanimity among literary historians and critics as to whether Štúr was in the first place "l'homme de pensée," or if in his activities prevailed "l'homme d' action."

His rôle in the Slav Congress in Prague, in 1848, his many contacts with Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, and Yugoslav intellectuals, his part in the Slovak revolution of 1848, and his rôle in the Hungarian Diet definitely mark him as "l'homme d' action." From his correspondence we know now that he had direct relations with the leaders of all Slavic peoples and, when sentenced to death for his part in the Slovak revolution, he removed himself to Vienna and there came into contact with other Slav representatives, notably the Slovene Stanko Vraz, and still more important with Ban Jelačić and the Serbian Patriarch Rajčić, who were working hand in hand and paid a joint visit to the Imperial Court.

On the other hand, Štúr played the most important rôle among the young generation of his time in the Slovak national revival, in the reform of the Slovak literary language, and in the resulting unity of the Slovak people which was followed by flourishing cultural and literary activities(26).

Consequently, to measure Štúr's significance and to see objectively his achievements, his intellectual profile and spiritual foundations, we have to consider his activities also in the Slovak cultural and political life. There his significance was great and far-reaching not only in the development of Slovak literature and the Slovak national ideology, but also in philosophy and politics. Slovakia and the Slovak people being a part of the Slav world, Štúr's rôle in the Slovak national revival, logically a part of his manifold contributions, is also to be considered within the framework of the Slavic world.

Under Štúr's leadership, the Slovak intelligentsia — composed mostly of Catholic and Protestant clergy, a few teachers, lawyers, and other members of the middle class

— continued to build a new national culture which centered in the Catholic university of Trnava (founded 1635) and was successfully developed by a group of Catholic writers, scholars, and poets, among whom particularly the learned linguist Anton Bernolák and the poet Ján Hollý played leading rôles⁽²⁷⁾. This new Slovak culture was necessarily and intentionally based on the Slovak peasantry, on small towns and villages with their own specific traditions and artistic creative genius manifested in flourishing folk songs, artistically designed architecture, tool-making, and resourceful popular music. Since the Slovak gentry continued to lose its national characteristics and assimilated with the Magyar gentry, abandoning the Slovak people in the middle of rising nationalism and political transformations, the Slovak intellectuals could not but take over the culture of the Slovak peasants, middle classes, and a handful of nationally-minded petty aristocrats and from it, before and especially in Štúr's time, they developed their own national culture and new national consciousness.

As in political thinking and planning, so in Štúr's cultural activities, his creative work was in harmony with the climate of the epoch in Western and especially in Central Europe, where among the smaller nations romanticism and nationalism were either identical or very related, and national and historical consciousness and popular art, folk-songs, sagas, and fairy tales were the focus of interest.

In this climate Štúr successfully organized his literary school and cultural activities which marked a new era in Slovak national life. His approach was philosophical, since he had a mystic idea of the nation and a respect for it as a person, and there was a strong spiritualism and idealism in his literary and cultural activities. His literary school adopted aesthetic and philosophical principles which became the real basis of last century's Slovak national revival and marked especially the literary and cultural life of Slovakia. During the revolution of 1848-49, Štúr's literary school, as correctly says Gudrun Apel,⁽²⁸⁾ fulfilled to a large extent the function of a political and military leadership, with Štúr, Hurban, Hodža among the

main leaders. The members of this school "imposed the most exacting task on themselves in order to elevate the Slovak people to the same cultural level as the rest of Europe, to release their creative energies, and to enable a new national culture to arise from the existing popular art and language." (29)

Štúr's influence was so strong that some of the principles of Štúr's ideology and aesthetic principles lived in the cultural life of Slovakia until her subjugation by the present Communist rule. For a long time the folk-song was the basis of all poetic style, and Slovak poetry was mainly an expression of the national idea, national sufferings, joys, hopes, and struggles, as Štúr demanded and practiced. Štúr's claim — that the poet had to be the herald and prophet of a new and better world, something of a social revolutionary and a national leader — was respected during the past one hundred years in Slovak literature not only in the nationalist era, but also the first years under Communism.

Many literary critics refer to Štúr's poetry and prose as romantic. But in Štúr's poetry, as in his philosophy, is an evident lack of some principal elements of romanticism. The leading motives of his poetry — as well as of that of his group — were anti-feudal and anti-aristocratic; he made common cause with the people and fought for its rights; he was full of enthusiasm and faith in a new life. Štúr advocated national solidarity of an ethical and emotional nature. According to Štúr's words: "the course of time... should rouse the poet to exalt songs of life and not of sickness, despair and hopelessness..."

As in his analysis of Janko Král's poetry G. Apel rightly noticed, Štúr and his group knew longing, but their longing was directed toward concrete political and social goals, especially in the years preceding the revolution of 1848-49, which were full of enthusiasm for the struggle and hope for victory. Consequently, Štúr and his contemporaries created a literature which echoed not only melancholy and restlessness, but also the call for revolution and the demand for a better world.

The lyrical lament is strong in Štúr's poetry as in his prose. But he passed from the sphere of personal and social into that of national and Slavic thought in all his works. The soul of the nation — or of the Slavs — was his constant subject, and the pain of the nation's sufferings, struggles and failures form the pervading atmosphere of his writings.

On the whole, Štúr and his followers combined a realist's keen insight into contemporary social problems⁽³⁰⁾ with the romantic inheritance of warm-hearted attachment to their country and people and, of course, to Slavdom. They advocated democratic enlightenment in relation to unprivileged classes — peasants and workers — and glorified their qualities, as they glorified the Slavs and their past. One of them, Samo Tomášik, created the Slav anthem "Hej, Slovakia." And they gave to the Slovak people not only a new hope and a new ideal, but also a pride expressed in Vajanský's famous verse:

I am proud to be a Slovak,
Elegant is my race;
A hundred million souls it numbers,
Over half the world it governs.
With the Slovak tongue you traverse
The four parts of the earth:
One my brother palms does plant,
Another eternal ice does scan,
A third o'er the sea does fly!

From this Kollár-inspired phantasy of one great Slav nation and one Slav language, the Slovaks, as rightly says Hans Kohn, "feeling abandoned in Hungary and their national existence threatened, may have drawn strength and faith in the indestructibility of the Slovak people and language," and it helped to continue to maintain contacts with the cultural life of other Slavic peoples.

In fact, Štúr and his followers transplanted into Slovakia not only Pushkin's poetry, but also Mickiewicz, Sevcenko and Yugoslav poets. Štúr's contemporaries demonstrated their Pan-Slavic sympathy and tendencies by read-

ing Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, and Yugoslav authors in the original, and famous Mickiewicz's "Ode to Youth," according to W. Bobek, "not even in Poland had been so enthusiastically received as in Slovakia." We can say that Slovak literature since Štúr's time developed under a strong influence of the outstanding works of Slav authors and was marked, like Polish and Russian literature, by an extensive use of folk tradition and regionalism, drawing on folklore and legend in the same way and to the same extent as did the literature of other Slavs.⁽³¹⁾

IV REVOLUTIONARY, IDEALIST, ROMANTIC, OR REALIST?

During the past one hundred years, opponents and adherents of Štúr's achievements and conceptions classified him differently. To the Hungarian gentry who persecuted and sentenced him to death, he was a revolutionary and a rebel. He was idealist or romantic to those in Central Europe who did not believe in the final victory of truth and natural rights of the oppressed peoples and did not wish to see Slovaks develop culturally, socially and politically into a distinct national entity.

Štúr was a romantic day-dreamer for all those who disliked the idea of Slavic reciprocity, his vision of a great future for Slavdom, or his assiduous work for equal rights of the Slovak people with other Central European nations, including Slovak national independence which he advocated in the following terms:

"Each nation is only one part of humanity, and no nation can claim for itself that it alone has attained the best human evolution and possible perfection. Therefore, no nation has a right to force upon another nation its way of life when that nation wants to move for itself and educate itself as it sees fit.

"So that we (Slovaks) might be revived and take the place in history which according to our strength and abilities belongs to us, we must once and for all free ourselves from the hated alien yoke and gain state independence for ourselves; because a nation which is enslaved has its hands tied, its spirit stifled, and is forever threatened with the danger that sooner or later it will perish."

Considered purely on the basis of his writings, Štúr appears to a superficial critic as a revolutionary and also a romantic idealist. When all parliamentary and political methods proved unsuccessful, he led, in 1848, the Slovak people in armed resistance against the revolution of the Magyar aristocrats and for Slovak autonomy within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. But before this happened Štúr tried all possible peaceful means, as even a brief look into his activities would show.

By advocating the Slovak national cause and uniting the Slovak Catholics and Protestants by means of a common literary language, Štúr aimed at a higher cultural level of the broad masses and thereby to gain them for the struggle for national equality in Hungary. "Štúr was clearly aware of the fact," writes Bartek, "that unity in the literary language was not the ultimate goal of his nation, but only a medium of further national development. The Slovaks, therefore, felt that the proper course had been taken in regard to their literary language. Even John Hollý, not only the greatest Slovak poet at that time, but also the greatest ideologist of his nation, gave Štúr's action his blessing and, therefore, Štúr was joined by the Catholics, representing five-sixths, the absolute majority of the Slovak nation."³²

As a member of the Hungarian Diet, Štúr appears as an enlightened fighter for freedom and social progress. A review of his speeches and articles from that time reveals that he demanded equal rights for all nationalities in Hungary, in cultural and political life, and insisted on the adoption by the Diet of laws to free the peasant masses from the feudalistic Robot system and labor rent, so that the culture of the country might increase by the foundation of schools in national tongues. Among many of his recommendations to the Diet, we also read his fervent demand to industrialize Slovakia and to adopt humanitarian laws regarding relations between gentry and the working class, the State authorities and citizens.

The obsolete social and political structure of Hungary was one of the main topics of Štúr's speeches. He recommended a federalistic system giving justice to all nationalities and appealed to the magnates to give attention to the development of the State in the spirit of new social and political ideas, and to make it a part of modern Europe.

Štúr was not a rebel, according to Bartek. As long as there was any hope of settlement with the Magyars, he did not advocate the destruction of the Hungarian State. He warned the ruling Magyar class that they could not forever ignore and suppress the inherent rights of nationalities and exploit the Slovaks and other peoples of

Hungary without expecting them to strike back with their righteous demands for a free national life, for the same rights the Magyars were resolved to fight for in the Habsburg Empire.

When all these demands hit upon deaf ears, only then did L. Štúr and his group decide to organize the Slovak revolution of 1848-49 in which Štúr played the leading rôle together with J. M. Hurban and M. M. Hodža, and which marked, though defeated and betrayed by Vienna, an important milestone in Slovak history. The torch of national consciousness, which Štúr and his group had taken over from the followers of Bernolák and J. Hollý, as a result of this revolution, became a lasting light for Slovakia's national struggles and aspirations.

As for the assertion that Štúr was a daydreamer in politics and a romantic in philosophy, recent analysis of his writings by Prof. D. Číževskij, Prof. Š. Polakovič, Dr. S. S. Osuský, and many others, completely repudiates this view. In his book "Štúr's Philosophy of Life," Prof. Číževskij proves that Štúr was in many respects an original philosopher and not merely an epigon of Hegel and German romantic thinkers. On the contrary, Štúr's philosophy lacks several characteristic features of German romanticism, according to Číževskij's thorough analysis which finds him a realist in his approaches to the phenomena of life.

Strangely and unfortunately enough, but recent political developments in Central and Eastern Europe proved that even Štúr's big dream of united Slavic peoples under Russia may become a reality. Not under an enlightened Russian czar with humanistic and liberal views, not as a community dedicated to the Orthodox Church and struggling for the highest ideals of freedom and respect for human beings, as Štúr wished to see it in his work "Das Slaventhum und die Welt der Zukunft" (Slavdom and the World of the Future). Moscow has become the political powerhouse of the Slav world under quite different circumstances, but Štúr's vision of a single united Slavic world under Russian leadership has technically materialized.

Štúr's vision of Slovak cultural, political, and social life did not prove to be daydreaming either. There is a Slovak nation with its own literature, cultural institutions, and is practically without illiteracy. There is a strong national consciousness and a sound social stratification, unbalanced only by the present Communist regime. And there is also a fighting spirit of the new Slovak generations for national and social justice among Central European peoples and a constant resistance against Communist ideology, about which over a century ago L. Štúr wrote:

"Communism not only commits outrageous injustice against all civil society... but it also ruins all personal initiative, endeavor and enthusiasm. It divides the family, it destroys the household and thus it opens wide the door to every type of immorality, dissolution, and indulgence. It degrades man to animal level. . . .

"Communism has matured to the same degree as atheism and defection from Christianity.... In all types of Communism, whatever their classification may be, the outlook is only toward a dismal life. It brings in its wake despotism of the grossest kind. . . ."

Despite Štúr's comparatively youthful age, his education and activities, as well as those of his group, were admirably manysided. Besides an ardent love and sacrifice for the national cause, Štúr and his followers became a model for many generations in their thorough preparation for the rôle which they marked out for themselves in Slovak life. Because they were human, they did make mistakes, but enemies of the Slovak national revival are pointing to and magnifying these in vain. Their mistakes were the mistakes of the century in which they lived, as Ernest Denis so understandingly reflected in his "*La Question d' Autriche—Les Slovaques*," published in 1917. Their smallness or greatness, their realism or romanticism can be measured only against the background of the conditions and of the period in which they lived, and against the results of their work which brought a new and more dynamic life to the Slovak people.⁽³³⁾

To summarize, it is certainly proper and correct to say

that the significance of Ludovít Štúr was great and far-reaching, in the first place, in the revival of Slovak national life, where Štúr played the rôle of reformer of the Slovak literary language, greatly contributed to the modern Slovak national ideology, gave to his people a new vision of political freedom and of a better future, and by his own example, his writings embracing poetry, philosophy, history, sociology, etc., gave a strong impetus to Slovak life in general.

Since Slovakia and the Slovak people are surely a part of the Slavic world, Štúr's rôle in the Slovak national revival is logically a part of his manifold contributions to be considered within the over-all Slavic world, too. On his position among Slav intellectuals of the XIXth century speaks not only the rôle he played at the first Slavic Congress in Prague, his rich correspondence with practically all outstanding Slavic leaders, but also the fact that his work "Slavdom and the World of the Future" was translated and twice published by Russian intellectuals in the last and at the beginning of this century.

Being endowed with extraordinary natural capacity for creative and original conceptions, Štúr belongs with Ján Kollár and Pavel J. Šafárik to the Slovaks of the XIXth century who can rightly be regarded as great figures of the Slavic world.

NOTES

1. Štúr's condemnation of Communism around 1850 became a part of the Slovak national ideology and has been quoted again and again. According to Štúr, Communism "ranks among the wildest of offshoots ever conceived by the human brain... it brings in its wake despotism of the grossest kind, it shatters all the bonds of social living and opens wide the door to every type of immorality, dissolution and indulgence. In place of holy ties, it offers profiteering, rioting and their like and thus it degrades man to animal level etc...."

2. A. Mráz, professor at the University of Bratislava, in his German book *"Die Literature der Slowaken"* and in his new book *"Dejiny slovenskej literatúry,"* Bratislava, 1948, says that "Štúr war nicht nur ein glücklicher Reformator und genialer Organisator und Initiator, er ragte auch als Dichter for" (p. 92).

3. Cfr. Hans Kohn, *"Pan-Slavism, Its History and Ideology,"* University of Notre Dame Press, 1953, (p. 20).

4. Ernest Denis, *"La Question d' Autriche — Les Slovaques,"* Paris, Librairie Delagrave, (pp. 162—170).

5. Objective studies on Štúr in foreign languages were published by Prof. Dimitrij Čiževskij, *"Ludovít Štúr's Philosophie des Lebens,"* Halle, 1938, and by Michael B. Petrovich, *"The Emergence of Russian Pan-Slavism 1856—1870,"* Columbia University Press, 1956.

6. Ibidem, (p. 21).

7. Prof. Seton-Watson, *"History of the Czechs and Slovaks,"* London, 1942, (p. 259).

8. Ibidem, (p. 262). See also Louis Léger, *"Le Panslavisme et l' intérêt française,"* Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1917, (p. 164) — "Ludovít Štúr était Slovaque, comme Kollar, comme Schafarik. On voit quel rôle les Slovaques si oubliés chez nous, pour ne pas dire si ignorés, ont joué dans la vie de la race slave au XIXe siècle." Léger confirms that the appeal to the Slavs for the First Congress in Prague in 1848 "avait été rédigé par l' écrivain slovaque Ludovít Štúr."

9. Cfr. W. Lednicki, "Panslavism, in *European Ideologies,*" ed. by Felix Gross, New York, 1948, (p. 838).

10. Journal of Central European Affairs, XII, 1952, I, 1—19.

11. Štúr's writings were published in several volumes. To his most important published works belong the following: Songs and Poems; Ancient and New History of the Slovaks; Slavdom and the Future of the World; Slovak Vernacular and the Need to Write In It; Slovak Grammar, and a great number of articles and studies, some of them published recently under the title: *Slova na čase.* He also was founder and editor of newspapers and reviews: Slovak National Review, The Eagle, etc.

12. Cfr. Louis Léger, *"Le Panslavism et l' intérêt français,"* (pp. 164—202).

13. See *"Štúrova filozofia života,"* Bratislava, 1941, SUS, (p. III).

14. Cfr. Ludovít Štúr, *"Slavianstvo i mir budushchago; Poslanie*

Slavianam s beregov Dunaja," translated from the German MS by V. I. Lamanskij in **"Chtenii Imperatorskago Obschestva Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskich pri Moskovskom Universitete, III, Material y slavianskie,"** Books 1-3, Moscow, 1867, (pp. 1-191). For an analysis of Štúr's work, see M. B. Petrovich's **"The Emergence of Russian Panslavism"** and his **"Ľudovít Štúr and Russian Panslavism"** in the **Journal of Central European Affairs**, April, 1952, 1-19. In German an objective analysis can be found in Alfred Fischel's book **"Der Panslavismus bis zum Weltkrieg,"** Stuttgart and Berlin, 1919.

15. Cfr. **"Štúrova filozofia života"** and also Doc. Š. Polakovič, **"Začiatky slovenskej národnej filozofie,"** Bratislava, 1944.

16. Cfr. Petrovich's works.

17. Danilevskii's first series of articles were published in 1869 in **"Zaria"** and so was his remarkable book **"Rossiia i Evropa; vzgliad na kulturnia i politicheskija otnosheniia slavianskago mira k germano-romanskomu."** R. A. Fadiev published his **"Mnienie o vostochnom voprosie"** also in 1870; Štúr died in 1856.

18. Cfr. works by Seton-Watson, Ernest Denis, Louis Léger, A. Fischel, H. Kohn, etc. For E. Denis **"Štúr reste encore aujourd'hui le nom le plus illustre de l'histoire slovaque... et l'ame de la résistance nationale... il ne vivait que pour sa cause et son ame débordait d'amour et de foi..."** (p. 164).

19. Cfr. also Polakovič's **"Začiatky slovenskej národnej filozofie,"** (p. 56).

20. Cfr. Číževskij's chapter **"Štúr and Hegel"** and also statement by him on p. 107 of his work.

21. See **"Slovakia,"** Vol. VI, June 1956, article by Prof. H. Bartek.

22. Cfr. Peter P. Yurchak, **"The Slovaks,"** Scranton, Pa., 1947, (pp. 90-100).

23. See H. Bartek: **"Ľudovít Štúr a slovenčina,"** Bratislava, 1943, and also his article in **"Slovakia,"** Vol. VI, June, 1956 (p. 9).

24. Cfr. **"Revue des Etudes slaves,"** Paris, II, (pp. 217-18), article by H. Bartek.

25. Štúr also adopted the view that the archaic Czech language, which was used for some time in Slovakia by the Protestant intelligentsia, was merely a borrowed language, and that the Slovak Protestants used it for liturgy and literature in the same way as the Catholics used Latin. This thesis was supported before Štúr by many Catholic Slovak writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cfr. **"Slovak Literature Under the Soviet Impact,"** by J. M. Kirschbaum, Vol. I, 1956, **Slavic and East European Studies.**

26. Cfr. Prof. A. Mráz, **"Die Literature der Slowaken,"** as well as his recent work **"Dejiny slovenskej literatúry,"** Bratislava, 1948.

27. Cfr. Peter P. Yurchak, **"The Slovaks,"** (pp. 103-105).

28. See, **"A Byronic Hero in Slovak Literature,"** **The Slavonic and East European Review**, Volume XXXIV, No. 83, June, 1956, (pp. 338-354).

29. Ibidem, (pp. 339-41).

30. On Štúr's social ideas see Dr. J. Paučo, **"Ľudovýchova u**

Štúrovcov," Turč. sv. Martin, 1943, and his article in **"Slovakia,"** Vol. VI, March, 1956. In Paučo's view Štúr and his followers "concerned themselves with the welfare of the entire nation. They fought to improve their economy, but they also fought with equal vigor against alcoholism, illiteracy, etc."

31. Cfr. **"A Note On Two Slovak Translators of Mickiewicz,"** by J. M. Kirschbaum, in **"Mickiewicz in World Literature,"** Univ. of California Press, 1956. See also Číževskij's contribution: "Mickiewicz, Štúr and Král," Ibidem, (pp. 469-484).

32. H. Bartek, **"Slovakia,"** Vol. VI, June, 1956.

33. See "Ludovít Štúr po sto rokoch," by J. M. Kirschbaum, **Most,** Vol. III, No. 4. 195.

OUR EXPERTS: THE CZECH SOCIALISTS!

P. A. HROBAK

When Dr. Edward Beneš returned to Czecho-Slovakia in 1945, after deserting her in 1938, he became "president" again, but this time not by the will of the people of that hapless country, but by the grace of Stalin, the strong man of the Kremlin. Of course, not unconditionally: he became titular head, because he had promised to do a job for Stalin. This is the only plausible explanation of why the people of Czecho-Slovakia tolerated the man who cowardly fled his responsibilities in 1938, after selling out the Slovaks and the Czechs to Hitler without even consulting the Czecho-Slovak Parliament.

Even before his return to Prague, Dr. Edward Beneš, Czech Nazi No. 1, handpicked members of his government very carefully: no anti-socialists and anti-Communists were allowed. They lost no time in getting down to the job Beneš had promised Stalin to do: **eliminate all anti-Soviet elements from public life.** The government controlled all political parties, the radio, press, schools, and industry; ecclesiastical properties were "nationalized" in Slovakia as early as 1945, and, later, in 1947-1948, also in Bohemia and Moravia.

The Communist-dominated NATIONAL FRONT government of the Beneš-Gottwald coalition would not tolerate any opposition; it ruled by decrees which were issued by Beneš and approved and signed by members of his government. Thousands of Slovaks and Czechs were disfranchised, dispossessed and deported, hundreds were put to death by the "people's courts," many more thousands were persecuted and deported, and hundreds of thousands were confined to jails and concentration camps. All this was done in the name of "people's democracy" and T. G. Masaryk's "liberalism and humanitarianism"!

Stalin appreciated that and so did the Czech Reds. When all "undesirable" elements had just about been purged from public life and over three million Sudeten Germans were transferred to Germany in a "humanely and orderly" manner, hundreds of thousands dying in the transfer, Stalin wanted to show his "appreciation" to Beneš and his followers, so he ordered Gottwald, the leading Czech Red, to take over all power in Czecho-Slovakia and buzz the Beneš Czechs to get, while the going was good. Gottwald had little trouble taking over on February 25, 1948, in fact, no trouble at all. And because the Beneš Czechs had shown such a great eagerness to collaborate, with Moscow and the Czech Reds during the foregoing three years, Gottwald even allowed most of them to escape with their families to the West.

The Beneš Czechs exclusively were allowed to influence the Western Powers, particularly the United States, England and France; they were the sole authorities and the only "reliable" sources of information in matters Czecho-Slovakian during the war and after 1945; they served as "expert" advisors to the United States (Roosevelt), England (Churchill), and Soviet Russia (Stalin). Beneš and his group, who had deserted their country in 1938 and surrendered the great war potential of Czecho-Slovakia to Hitler, did their

jobs well in IRO, OWI, the CIA, CIC, UNRRA, the military, etc., smearing all their political enemies and making it as miserable for them as they possibly could. The Slovaks, who always adamantly opposed Marxist socialism and the pro-Soviet policy of Dr. Edward Beneš, suffered most.

After February 25, 1948, however, the Beneš Czechs and their hirelings, the Lettrich Slovak "democrats," found themselves out in the cold, when Gottwald and his Czech Reds told them to get, or else. So to the West they went as fast as they possibly could, experiencing little or no difficulty, and bewailing the "rough" treat-

CZECHOSLOVAK COUNCIL IN WASHINGTON

"New National Councils are being formed in this country to represent the silenced people behind the Iron Curtain. They are being built up from the ever-increasing number of political emigrants who are arriving in the United States. Immense help can be given to the Western democracies by these councils. They can keep up communication through underground channels with the forces at home still fighting for freedom. They can inform the Voice of America of the most effective form of broadcast for their respective countries. They can become useful centers of help to DP's and can contribute greatly to employment and resettlement schemes. They can build up a close cooperation among themselves and thus prepare for a future federated Europe.

Along with these possibilities comes a corresponding responsibility resting upon our own Government as to the choice of members for these councils. **In certain instances, such as that of the Czechoslovak Council now being formed in Washington under the leadership of Dr. Peter Zenkl, the former Mayor of Prague, it is not quite clear how much evidence of this responsibility our State Department is showing.**

If there is to be but one council, and not two — Czech and Slovak separately — then the Slovaks should be represented by men acceptable to the people at home, men who represent not only the Lutheran minority but also the large Catholic majority in Slovakia. The most important prerequisite for eligibility to the Council should certainly be a clear-cut opposition to communism. Such a record can be seriously questioned in the case of **at least one** of the ten Czech politicians recently invited by the State Department to come to this country, since he is known for obstructing the opposition to communism in the past.

The query naturally arises: just how accurately is our State Department informed as to the previous history of all the men whom it is inviting to our shores?" — (AMERICA, Feb. 19, 1949).

ment they received from the Czech Reds after they performed so many invaluable services for them, as well as for Stalin. That's gratitude for you, they said, just as if things like that had never happened before. We know they did, and they should have known, too, because such is always the net result of collaborating with the Reds and Moscow.

We are still waiting to hear or see a public statement by the Beneš Czechs to the effect that they regret their collaboration with

the Czech Reds and Moscow. All their public statements thus far are marked by the same tendency: an attempt to whitewash and cover up their willing collaboration with the Reds. They are not sorry for selling out the Slovaks and Czechs to the Czech Reds and Moscow, but they rather mourn the fact that the Reds threw them out of government, i.e., repudiated further collaboration!

But the Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings, the Lettrich Slovak "democrats" were not finished yet, not by a long shot. Thanks to Socialist Beneš, they had good connections in the West. How could the West abandon them now, after they had rendered so many fine services for the Czech "progressive and liberal" ideals of T. G. Masaryk's "humanitarian" democracy and the pro-Soviet policy of Dr. Edward Beneš? And they reckoned correctly; they were adopted by the West. The promoters of Czech National Socialism and their hirelings, the Lettrich Slovak "democrats," claimed themselves "anti-communist, democratic" exiles from Czecho-Slovakia and posed as victims of communist tyranny.

Shortly thereafter they were sitting in judgment over Slovak and Czech exiles in the West, advising the Western Powers exactly who was or was not "reliable" among those who had fled from Czecho-Slovakia prior to 1948, and pretending that only they were the "true" representatives of the Slovak and Czech nations and, hence, entitled to speak for them in the free world. We know that the gullible West, particularly the United States, rushed legislation to make it possible for the Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings, former members of the communist-dominated National Front government of Prague, to emigrate to the United States, England, and other free countries. The very people who, until February 25, 1948, sang praises to Stalin, the invincible Red liberators and the great achievements of Soviet Russia; the very same people who, until February 25, 1948, blatantly insisted that the Soviet Union was not interfering in the internal affairs of Czecho-Slovakia, and that there was nothing so "democratic" as the new order promoted by the Kremlin, the new order of "people's" democracies!

In November, 1948, the Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings prepared a "memorandum" on the political structure and activities of Slovak and Czech exiles, which was a grand effort to smear and vilify all true opponents of Communism, its handmaid Czech National Socialism, and the Soviet system, particularly the Catholic Slovaks and Czechs and the Roman Catholic Church (Vatican). At the same time, however, it does reveal the perverted hypocritical mind of the Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings, though I doubt it was intended to do so.

The document, a copy of which was sent to me by a patriotic Czech whose conscience made him break with the Beneš clique, has never been published or referred to publicly, to my knowledge, because all concerned wanted it to be kept "secret and confidential" by all recipients and particularly the State Department of the United States of America. According to my Czech informant, the "Memorandum" was sent to the IRO, various U. S. departments of government, including the State Department, CIA, CIC, and also to some "very important and influential persons in America and England. Here it is published in full for the first time for the edification of the American public and students of history.

"MEMORANDUM ON POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA EXILES"

This memorandum deals with political aspects of Czechoslovak exile groups only, especially so far as their **anti-communism** and its motives are concerned.

Politically European anti-communism is not a united movement; it contains factions and tendencies democratically not qualified or even disqualified. It has to be emphasized that yesterday's enemies of democracy (**nacism and its friends**), which are offering themselves as allies today, could easily become an acute and fatal problem for democracy, in case not sufficient attention is paid to the implications. Anti-communism as such is merely a potential ally of democracy.

In our opinion, all political emigration should be classified already now as to the **real motives** of its anti-communist attitude. We, in Czecho-slovakia, who have lived to see the destruction of democracy first by **fascism** and later by **communism**, know only too well that these two contrasting ideologies, irreconcilable ideologically, are quite identical insofar as their psychology and ethics are concerned. Intermediate and fresh as the experience with the Communists lives among political exiles, it is very dangerous for **democratic** thinking and feeling and tends to extremism and primitive radicalism. The irritative camp psychology diminishes the ability for finer distinctions and, as a consequence, anti-communism turns into the criticism of a very primitive, sometimes of quite **fascist** character. This tendency, which in the end would become harmful to the cause of **world democracy**, is not very acute in Czechoslovak camps unless it is left to develop entirely in its own way.

Czechoslovak political emigration can be classified according to the motives of its anti-communism as follows:

1. **Political Catholics:** opponents of Communism for religious and confessional reasons. This group has to be subdivided into two parts: Czech and Slovak. Czech Catholics are well equipped ideologically; they are in contact with and influenced by **modern** Catholic movements in the West,

especially by that of France. Their orientation is universal, humanitarian and, through Masaryk's influence, also democratic. They identify Communism with Marxism and interpret it as a logical consequence of materialism and atheism. To a certain extent **their faith is liberal, at least it used to be so in Czechoslovakia**. This feature, however, is weakening here in exile and is being replaced by one that is more conservative and confessional.

The activities of this group are carried on with the help of Catholic clergy which, in its turn, is supported by the Vatican through the Pax Romana organization. The work of this group is, for that reason, much easier and it is visible everywhere. Some movements of our emigrants from Germany had almost an exclusive Catholic character. So the transfer to Italy, for instance, consisted mainly of Catholics. The political Catholics are **very expansive** and so they may get into conflict with the above mentioned tradition which is of lay, **liberal and democratic** character. The representatives of this group are: Mr. Bohdan Chudoba, MP, Mrs. Koželuhova, Mr. Prochazka, former Minister of Health, Mr. Tigrid, Chief Editor of (the Czech) Catholic Party Press.

In spite of the fact that Bohemia is to a great extent (96%) a Catholic country, the religious affiliation has never been identified with the political one; that is why the Catholic Party has enjoyed no great significance since 1918, **and it is hardly to be expected that it will be otherwise in the future democratic Czechoslovakia**.

The movement of political Catholicism in Slovakia, with the exception of a small group of modernists, is of a more **primitive** nature and it has always pursued policies which were in permanent conflict with the **Czechoslovak democracy** since the end of World War One. The Slovak population is 80% Catholic; in 1938 election HSLS — (the Hlinka Slovak People's Party) — polled about 40% of all votes and was relatively the strongest party.

This group has two political centers outside Czechoslovakia. The first is in USA among the Slovak speaking American citizens, popularly spoken of in Czechoslovakia

as American Slovaks. Their press (e. g. Slovak Defense, Slovak in America, Catholic) vehemently campaigns against the new political exiles who left their home-country **after February 1948 only**. They stand openly for legal continuity of the so-called Slovak State, campaign for it in public and declare at the same time their intention to take revenge on all participants in the 1944 **anti-German** rising at Banská Bystrica in the middle of Slovakia, further **on all politicians who have shown good will in cooperation with the Soviets during or after the war**. Under the pressure of this kind of propaganda many Slovaks succumb, become indifferent to the cause of Czechoslovakia, or even turn hostile to it. This political war-fare against Czechoslovakia is going on under the guise of Christian charity which appears to have been led until recently by an American citizen of Slovak origin, Father Billy.

As the character of the Slovak exiles is to a much smaller extent political than it is the case with the Czech emigrees, **and as it contains elements of very poor social and intellectual level**, the kind of propaganda mentioned above has had considerable success. If the promises of material help, by which Father Billy has been able to influence the political minds of Slovak emigrants in Germany, are to realize, it will certainly create another obstacle on the way of harmonious cooperation of Czechs and Slovaks in exile.

The other center of political Catholicism, which is in contact with the first, is the Vatican and is dominated by the former minister of Czechoslovakia at the time of Munich Agreement who later held the post of Ambassador of the **Slovak State to the Holy Seat**, Mr. Karol Sidor. He himself has been away from Slovakia since 1939 and is profiting out of a legend which has grown around him. Mr. Karol Sidor was a big man in the HSLŠ; he was looked upon as a successor of Father Andrej Hlinka to the highest office in the Party. He was a leader of the most radical fraction of the young party followers and the founder as well as the **Commander-in-Chief of HG (Hlinka Guards, armed troops of the Party, formed on the pattern of the German SA or SS)**. During the Munich crisis and after the resignation of President Beneš, he became Minister in Prague Government

and — as the consequence of this — he lost contact with the **separatist** wing of the Party, which in the meantime passed under the control of Father Tiso, later president of an independent Slovak State. Influenced by Prague and by his master Father Hlinka, who died already in 1936, he believed in a solution which was based on the principle of territorial integrity of the Republic. His hesitation at the critical moment before the establishment of Protectorate over Bohemia (March 13, 1939) caused that he lost all the German sympathies and facilitated the rise of Tiso. Later he was appointed Ambassador to Vatican where he has been since. His attitude to Czechoslovakia is equivocal; until not long ago he stood for Slovak State; now, after some months of international development, he is more reserved and the latest news suggest that he **almost** reversed his initial position.

In spite of the fact that Sidor has not engaged himself for certain reasons in the **fascist** regime in Slovakia during the war, he is not without responsibility for what was going on there during his absence. His responsibility is, in our opinion, essential. As the Chief of the Hlinka Party press, leader of radicals and an important Party boss — all in one person — he was the most characteristic representative of **Slovak nationalism**. He was in a permanent opposition to the **democratic** form of Czechoslovakia. He did his best to make the Slovak national movement more radical and vulgar and, in this way, he induced the movement to take the shape it did and to end as it did, that is in the destruction of Czechoslovakia, suppression of democracy and strengthening of **fascist** power in Europe.

Sidor as a politician is without sufficient education, foresight, and sense of responsibility; he is unacceptable to the **democrats** in spite of the fact that his stay in Vatican has had a **positive** influence on him. Long emigration has made him to develop a Fuhrer-complex and a harmful sense of sovereignty. Even if his political conception has become more democratic, as a consequence of his contact with Vatican, there is nothing by which he could contribute to the cause of **democracy**. "With Sidor against the Jews" is the quintessence of his legend in Slovakia. He has no other fol-

lowers there; if he switched over to different slogans, he would have to give up his own past and abandon those political and psychological forces which adore him now. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the whole emotional and ideological background of **Slovak separatism** is given absolutely by the Slovak State, its inner spirit, its values and prejudices, and if Sidor did not serve these forces, he would be considered as a traitor and opportunist.

2. **Anti-communism as an expression of Czech or Slovak nationalism:** On the **Czech** side, it is General Prchala who can be termed as its representative. General Prchala is a **Czech** afficer who did not return home after the last war because of political differences with Dr. Beneš. His followers make up a tiny group among our exiles. The judgments on General's qualities as a soldier run diametrically, but there is no doubt about his political capabilities among the **democratic** exiles. The legend that grew around him, as an immediate consequence of the first disappointment after February, has mostly evaporated since. General Prchala is said by the people who know him to be a man of **very limited** views who has no **political** sense; he is said to have no **democratic** convictions, and, besides, he suffers from something like megalomania. His political reasoning is embryonic and naive. He refuses to recognize the necessity of political parties in democracy; he flatters the Sudeten Germans for reasons of his personal ambition, which is both unreasonable and irresponsible. His negotiations with the Slovak separatist fraction which Mr. P. Pridavok in London, are too hasty to be considered seriously. His followers in Czechoslovakia are scanty and the **democratic** exile group do not count with him either. His worshippers do not know him personally; they regard him as the most outspoken anti-Communist and from their own illusions about his personality which disappear as soon as they come in contact with reality. It is our opinion that General Prchala will go to the history of our emigration as a little episode.

General Prchala's group is exploiting the fact of his long emigration and absence from his own country and has some financial means at disposal. It has its own paper "**Ceský boj**" published in London. His followers are recruit-

ed from emigrants who left Czechoslovakia partly before the last war, but mostly who left between the years 1945-1947. It is characteristic that they generally live outside the camps. They founded in London **The Czech National Committee** which operates also in the US Zone and has nothing in common with **Czechoslovakia Relief Committee**.

Prchala's group accepts the Slovak separatism, supports it on account of common ideological affinity, and they plan to gather a Central European Federation. General Prchala acts entirely with the people of his kind. They are nationalists by outlook, their emotional and ideological background is quite opposed to the ideas on which a healthy and organic federation could arise. The real motives behind Prchala's federational plans are opportunist in character. The idea of federation, if the latter is to be workable, pre-supposes supra-nationalizing and **democratic** thinking, it presupposes the super nationalism not its assertion which, in substance, is national egoism.

On the Slovak side, the nationalist group with the movement of political Catholicism, insofar as the representatives and their followers are concerned, has always been so since 1918, and the best expression since was the Slovak State with a priest as president and a third of members of parliament also priests.

The real leader of this group is Mr. Durčanský, who is sometimes considered as successor of Father Tiso. As the first Foreign Minister of the Slovak Puppet Government, he is on the list of war criminals and, consequently, the Slovak nationalists are more or less obliged to accept Mr. Sidor, who represents the policy of the Vatican as their leader. But for this fact, the position of Mr. Durčanský would be dominant beyond any doubt, because of his relatively greater erudition (he was professor of international law at the Bratislava University from 1939 till 1944), Intelligence, and because of his political skill.

The gross of the Slovak separatist group consists of young people (around 19 or 20 years of age). These people have no personal experience of **democracy**. They are not sufficiently educated, inexperienced in all respects, they

succumb to the propaganda of the more radical, noisy and vulgar it is. This kind of propaganda exerts influence even on people who left Czechoslovakia for quite **apolitical** reasons.

Mr. Durčanský had his organization built up already at the time when the **Czechoslovakia** exile movement was yet non-existent. Lacking all the means, it is very difficult for the **democratic** exiles to catch up with him in this respect. Durčanský has his agents in all Czechoslovak camps, canvassing for him both openly and secretly. It is sad, and characteristic as well, that these agents use all means at their disposal, including bribes (cigarettes, food packages from USA, promises of visa to Argentina, which is the country of residence of Mr. Durčanský).

In spite of the ban on all political activities in refugee camps, the agents of Mr. Durčanský exercise great moral pressure on **democratic** Slovaks by propaganda of revenge for the execution of Father Tiso and for the Bystrica rising in 1944, by campaigning openly for the Slovak State, which is being treated as a fait accompli in Catholic nationalistic press of American Slovaks in USA, Slovak refugees are instilled by fear and used for political plans of Mr. Durčanský. An illegal paper by name of "Slovak Struggle" is being published by "Tiso's Society" somewhere in Munich. This mimeographed paper stands openly for the Slovak State, for its idea and its **fascist** representatives, some of whom were listed as the war criminals still during the war (Tiso, Durčanský).

3. **Fascism in exile**: It is implied in the former movements where it exists potentially for the present. It does not exist as a clear-cut orientation, but its expression can be detected on different tendencies. It emerges on the surface individually without the courage to appear as an open organization. The real danger begins there where the anti-communist attitude turns into sheer passion and irrationalism, national, religious, or racial. This danger is not acute for the present and would be easily neutralized by a clearer moral support to be accorded to the **Czechoslovak democratic** exiles by the Western democracies.

4. **Conservatives**: One can count here the followers of

all political parties which were not admitted by the Third Republic (1945) and were recognized now in exile: Peasant's Party, National Democrats, and the party defending the interests of small business and handwork. Those parties can serve well to the cause of **democracy** in Czechoslovakia, especially the Peasant's Party, **if it strikes roots in Slovakia** and turns the Party Politics into another direction leading out of the present dead-lock situation created by the nationalist complex. This would contribute to the political intergration of both parts of the Republic, even if on the basis of a more conservative character. In general, these parties represent **vested interests rather than ideologies**. They stand for **economic liberalism** which best favors the interests of their followers.

It is known that the Peasant's Party was well received by all political groups, especially by (the Czech) **Social Democrats**. The initial mutual respect and good will of the two latter parties gives rise to speculations on an eventual coalition in the future which was well known in the party politics of the First Republic, when it was characteristically called "**red-green coalition**."

5. **Decomratic exile groups**: It is difficult to speak about the political parties in connection with this group which represents **the Czechoslovak tradition of universal and moral humanism as formulated by Masaryk**. In general, it can be said that the political grouping of this block coincides with the parties forming the Government Coalition of the First Republic (up till 1938), the parties which stood by Masaryk **without any reservation** and later backed his successor to the presidency, Mr. Beneš; one can include into this group (Czech) National Socialists (Czech) Social Democrats and, to a certain extent, the **Czech Catholic Party** and the old Peasant's Party.

The opposition of this democratic block to Communism is motivated by humanitarian philosophy, cultural and moral universalism. This group opposes all national, confessional and class exclusiveness, its faith is undogmatic, lay and social in character. In European politics it stands for "troisieme force" with the democracy as a dominant

feature. It represents the best Czechoslovak tradition (Hus, Comenius, Masaryk), its orientation is universal, essentially related to or even identical with the democratic spirit of the West.

It is a natural, unopportunistic ally of the West and an exclusive representative of Western orientation in Czechoslovakia in every respect.

The representatives of this group have suffered most through the Communist coup d'etat in February this year. They tried their best to cooperate with the Communists, following the lines of policy laid down by Yalta and other agreements, and now they pay dear for the failure of their "mission of good will" by inner chaos and repercussions caused by the political demagoguery of the **undemocratic anti-Communism**.

The democratic block, which still represents the majority of public opinion in Czechoslovakia, is in a state of fermentation, revaluation, revision and heart-searching. The visible signs for this search for new policies can be traced in the attempt to establish a **single Socialist Party** in Czechoslovakia on the pattern of Western Labour Parties, in the retrospective criticism of our past policies towards the national minorities, in the reconstruction of political status **quo ante Munich**, in the sympathies with the federation plans in Europe, and in many other tendencies.

The personalities belonging to this group may be listed as follows:

Mr. Ferdinand Peroutka, Editor of the most influential non-party weekly review "Dnešek; former ministers: **Zenkl, Majer, Stránský, Ripka**; generals: **Hasal, Ingr**; Slovaks: **Osuský, Papánek, Slávik, Kočvara, General Ferienčík, Fránek**, and others. Out of all groups this democratic block is at the greatest disadvantage insofar as their position in refugee camps is concerned; it has no press except "Svobodný Zitřek" published in Paris; it is without any visible material, financial, and moral support which is accorded more or less to all other exile groups, especially to our older exiles (1938, 1944-1947), **which are rather defective, from the point of view of pure democracy**. In general it can be

said that the **democratic** exiles have supported Beneš's policy from 1945: **they stood for the policy of understanding with the Communists**, partly spontaneously and partly under the pressure of both internal political situation, and left ČSR only in February when they were threatened by physical force. **They do not consider the policy of Beneš as a mistake, but rather as failure of good will and personal tragedy.** The illusion of Beneš is often compared to that of Roosevelt. The **democrats** feel that their experiment was an honest attempt which, from the point of view of **world democracy**, was absolutely necessary. The failure is not received with satisfaction by the **genuine democrats**; they rather feel disappointed and deceived. The disappointment becomes all the more painful for them as they reconsider their mistakes and **sacrifices**.

The democratic self-criticism aims in the first place at their own political parties and politicians. They admit shortsightedness, lack of foresight, and carelessness in respect of the **real aims** hidden behind the communist activities, and, finally, they confess to helplessness and hesitation at the time when the communist intentions become evident. The most painful are the concessions made to the Communists in what concerns the integrity of democracy, **such as the inhumanities committed during the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans and Hungarians, the misuse of political trials and purges, excesses of secret police, and the like.** Under the pressure of ideological disunity and self-criticism, some principles, as regards the future political system, crystallize: the preservation of **state continuity on a new basis**, enlarged politically (by the reintroduction of some of the old parties), and personally (by the admittance to the political life of the country of non-party personalities). The persons of some prestige, who were not engaged in party politics and whose attitude to the past regime (1945-48) is merely critical not a priori negative, are the following: **Peroutka, Papánek, Osuský, Hasal, Ferienčík**, and a few others. In general, one can say the exile resistance movement which is being born outside Czechoslovakia is not motivated by negation or contempt, **but by understanding and criticism of Beneš's Republic.** In the eyes of democratic

exiles this attitude becomes the chief criterion of a **democratic** qualification.

After the death of Beneš and Masaryk, junior, **Czechoslovak** exiles are without a recognized leader and it is doubtful whether such a person will arise in a spontaneous way. The absence of a leading personality is being felt everywhere, especially while our resistance organization is at its beginning. The choice of **democratic** representatives is, at this time of recession of European democracy, very acute and more responsible than ever before. It is quite clear that the judgement of **Western** governments will be essential in this choice; their responsibility for the future of **European democracy** will be very large.

We think it would be desirable that the charitable character of the assistance to our refugees should be replaced, within the limits given by the policies of Western democracies, by a **support of a more political character**. We are convinced that such a revision of our "refugee status" would play an important role from the **military** point of view as well. The **apolitical** character of the aid to our refugees has a harmful influence on the moral of the people concerned, especially on the younger refugees, who left their homes mostly on the basis of **false information** and supposition that they would be immediately drafted into the **Czechoslovak** or other military forces.

The present camps are for many emigrants an education for **political** indifference and the only interest that remains is to emigrate and to settle down. The emigrants, who are living outside the camps beyond the reach of **political** or other control authority, succumb to harmful orientations and other influences. **Czechoslovak emigrants**, who are living outside the Czechoslovak camps in Austria and South Germany, **mostly left Czechoslovakia long before February 1948** and are very often guilty of collaboration with **nacism**.

The Sudeten-German problem:

It was said already that the excesses committed in connection with the transfer of Sudeten-Germans were a very painful affair for the **democrats**. Many of them came over to Germany with the intention of opening a new chapter in

Czechoslovak-German relations, a chapter of cooperation and understanding, which was to be based on mutual concessions and compromises. This tendency is waning in contact with the every-day German reality, even if the original intention is not being abandoned entirely. **Germany of today is democratic on the surface only and any cooperation with her seems to be still very risky.** For that reason the transfer of the German minority in 1945-46 it as present considered generally to have been **the only possible solution** under the circumstances. This attitude is accepted generally by the whole (Czech) **democratic** block, though it is often felt to be of rather an emergency and unfinished character.

The Slovak Problem:

The Slovak exiles, who left Czechoslovakia between the time of **liberation** and February 1948, had an **exclusively collaborationist** character; the nationalist and **fascist** feature of this exile movement grew more intense under the influence of exile psychology and with the gradual failure of the **Czechoslovak democratic experiment.** **If this democratic experiment with the Communism had succeeded, these exiles would have never gained any significance.** New possibilities for them are opening only now after Czech and Slovak **democrats** had to resign their "**good will mission**" and have compromised to a certain degree with the Communists.

As these **fascist and half-fascist** exiles have been coming over to Germany now for more than three years and have been supported not only by the Slovak charity organizations in the USA, but by the Germans as well — **which is characteristic in itself** — they are numerically stronger than the recent **democratic** groups. To illustrate the quality and intellectual level of the people concerned, we give the total number of university graduates in both opposing groups of Slovaks as it occurs in the greatest **Czechoslovak** refugee camp in Ludwigsburg (Jägerhofkasern): Among 200 Slovaks in the camp, there are 14 university graduates, out of which 1 (one) is **nationalist-separatist**, while the other thirteen are democrats **standing for the unity of Czechoslovakia.** The average age of the members belonging to the **democratic** group is about 33, in the **separatists** group it makes only 22 years.

The number of **democratic** Slovaks in exile increases rapidly **since Febraury 1948** and amounts to about 30 or 40% in all the camps. This is caused by the fact that, until recently, the Communists refrained from wholesale persecution of the **democrats** in Slovakia because of the relative weakness of the Communists in this part of the Republic.

The political representation and importance of the **Slovaks** in exile politics outside Germany is so strong and great as never before. One of the candidates for chairmanship of the Czechoslovak National Council in the USA is a Slovak, **Mr. Osuský**, Professor at Colgate University, USA, and former Ambassador of Czechoslovakia to France. In the United Nations, it is a Slovak, **Mr. Papánek**, who defends the cause of **the Czechoslovak** people there. He is assisted by the former ambassador to US Government, **Mr. Slávik**, who is also a Slovak. The strong **Democratic Party** (the majority party which polled 62% of all votes recorded in the last free elections in Slovakia in 1946) stands for a **united but decentralized** Czechoslovakia and its **democracy** (except for 2 dissidents: Dr. Bohm and Mr. Blaško, MPs).

It is to be emphasized that the underlying idea of nationalist and separatist movement has been a democratic one. It was represented by HSLS(The Hlinka Slovak People's Party) which was banned after the defeat of Germany in 1945, because of its **wholehearted collaboration** with **nacism** during the war. This party has been in the full sense of the word the pioneer, the spearhead and an exclusive representative of **fascism** already long before 1938. Since 1921 and 1933, respectively, the movement sympathized quite **openly and unambiguously** with Mussolini and Hitler; it was already so at the time when, thanks to the magic personal influence of president Masaryk, **there were no pro-fascist tendencies in Czechoslovak political life.** The nationalist and separatist press, from before or after Munich, supplies a mass of evidence supporting fully the foregoing statements. This concerns the Party's official organ "**Slovak**" and "**The Slovak Truth**," just as well as the more radical papers "**Gardista**" and especially "**Nástup**," the organ of Sidor extremists, edited then by Dr. Durčanský.

The Slovak nationalist and separatist movement has

done its best to bring about a situation suitable for the destruction of Czechoslovakia and suppression of **democracy**. The so-called Slovak State, the full acceptance of its ideology and recognition of its leaders by Hitler was only a logical consequence. The present leaders of Slovak separatists in exile are all members of the HSLS and belong to the second or third garniture (except Sidor and Durčanský who belong to the first), which is the most **radical and fanatical**. They are mostly young people belonging to the generation **which has grown up at the time of Hitler expansion and had no opportunity to assimilate the democratic spirit, which in any case was too young in Slovakia**. It is necessary to emphasize that **the Slovaks entered history as a nation only in 1918**; this single fact explains **almost everything** about the nature and quality of Slovak nationalism and separatism.

In general, the problem of Slovak nationalism is a problem of democracy. In many a respect it resembles the problem of **German nationalism and democracy**. There is not question of refusing the recognition of the Slovaks as a nation, with its equal rights; there is no difference between the nationalists and **democrats** in this point. The conflict is ideological, moral, and cultural. Essentially it is a conflict between **fascism and democracy**. The Slovaks-Democrats are standing **automatically** for ČSR, because they see in it **a guarantee of democracy also for Slovakia**. They are without any nationalist prejudice, and the question of Czech-Slovak relations is for them but a question of **governmental and administrative technique**. The motives behind the Slovak separatism is political immaturity, nationalist passions, anti-Czech, anti-Hungarian, anti-Jewish hatred, **lacking all objective foundations**. The Slovak separatism is basically an absence of **correct** political thinking, lack of education, **democratic** tradition, **humanitarian** feeling, and a want of culture in general. It is based on **psychic** complexes and it is a kind of **primitivism**. The Western democracies may not make any compromise with it if they do not wish to **weaken the democracy of Slovakia and if their aim is the reconstruction of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe**. The only political goal of Slovak nationalism is a re-establish-

ment of an independent Slovak State with the same underlying ideology as that **which prevailed under Tiso**. Any compromise in this respect would mean an irrevocable step **backward** and a retreat away from **democracy**.

Their attitude toward federation plans, in which they see a good opportunity, is motivated by **naked political opportunism**. They are incapable of any federation because of their deep **nationalist prejudice and complex**. Their aim is the destruction of ČSR, the seizure of power which would be otherwise impossible, because of the **fascist** past of all leaders of nationalist separatism. **The criticism of the foregoing passage should not be interpreted as prejudice**. It is not always easy for **Western** observers to understand fully the difficult position of **democratic** ideas in the countries where, in absence of a strong tradition, they are exposed to the inroads not only of communism, but also of another kind of **political primitivism (nationalism, church confessionalism)**. The present criticism is based on the results of a **thorough** analysis of the so-called "**Slovak Problem**." It is only because of the lack of space that **the facts are accumulated without adequate basis of objective evidence**. May we stress, too, that **the authors** of the most critical parts and passages on the Slovak nationalism contained in the present memorandum are Slovaks and Catholics as well.

The significance of Dr. Beneš:

A negative attitude towards the personality of Beneš is held by two political groups only: **Prehala and Slovak nationalists**. The attitude of a small minority of Conservatives, **Catholics and some other Right Wing Politicians** is also more or less revered. The **democrats** in general are rather united in their relations to Beneš. The doubts about his policies, which arose in exile following immediately the communist overthrow of the **democracy** regimes, have disappeared, so that after his refusal to add his signature to the new communist-sponsored Constitution, which was later followed by his resignation, **Beneš slowly became the symbol of democratic struggle against the Communism**. Before his death, he was virtually expected to resume his leadership of the **third resistance struggle for a new, free, and democratic Czechoslovakia in exile**.

His death was mourned by all quarters. The devotion to **his ideals** grew more intense everywhere, partly as a result of pressure of demagogic and rough propaganda by the two groups mentioned above. In general, it can be said that **Czechoslovak democratic exile block** follows the path of Masaryk's tradition of **Human democracy**, which is in no way opposed to **Beneš's policies**, even if they are criticized in some **very important** aspects, such as national state, **regulated democracy**, the problem of national minorities in ČSR, and especially the practical politics since the **liberation** (1945). Beneš remains an authority for all **the democrats** at home and in exile as a **theoretician of democracy**; for the **majority** of emigrants he represents the symbol of national independence. His prestige has been growing continuously since his resignation, and his departure is being felt everywhere as irreplaceable. It is recognized almost generally that Beneš acted under the pressure and responsibility **which was historic** and which eliminates any attempt at an objective judgement in the present moment.

Political aspirations of democratic exile block:

Czechoslovak **democratic** political groups in exile regret the state of non-existence of a recognized representative body; the general disappointment, too, is being felt in respect of the indiscriminating, **apolitical**, refugee status accorded to Czechoslovak political exiles. Czechoslovak political exiles feel they are no emigrants and they are inclined to accept the emigration possibilities given **only insofar as they offer the basis for political activities in the broadest possible extent**, directed to the ultimate goal of all exiles — **to the re-establishment of a free and democratic Czechoslovakia**.

This "Refugee Status" is disliked most of all by the Czechoslovak **democratic** exiles which consider themselves as **true allies** of the West and as the **real representatives** of an allied Nation which is **democratically so qualified as no other nation of Central and Eastern Europe**. Czechoslovak **democratic** exiles would be very happy to see the change in their status and their general position.

Frankfurt-Main, in November 1948.

Taking into account what has happened since 1948, particularly the "special" treatment accorded the Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings by our State Department, I believe it is safe to say that

" In our issue of February 19 (p. 531) we wondered what sort of information the State Department has been provided with in choosing members for the Czechoslovak Council recently formed in Washington. The reserves we expressed on that occasion are confirmed by a letter sent us since then by a distinguished statesman prominent in Czechoslovakia's political life previous to the communist coup. We quote a few lines from his letter:

In this new Czecho-Slovak Council there are no Slovak Catholics (the three Slovaks who are nominally Catholics never took part in the religious and cultural life of the country), and the Czech People's Party is represented by three persons of doubtful moral standing who had always been friends of Soviet domination. The rest are Marxian Socialists — who are presumably in great favor at Washington — and three Czech Agrarians(who are perhaps the only Catholics in the whole assembly.

Perhaps the State Department officials are right in thinking that a council, whatever may be its composition, is better than no council. From the standpoint of American political strategy no objection can be raised. But my own view of these things is a bit different. **The leaders of the newly formed Council are Marxists — can Bolshevism be defeated by its own ideas? They are freethinkers and opponents of any religious instruction. What Cultural ideas will they give to my unhappy people? They will have to rule in Slovakia by sheer force — could that be called democracy? Their conception of foreign policy is that of military alliances a la Benes and hatred towards all the neighbors — does that mean peace? Perhaps the greatest irony of all is that men who were bitter enemies of the Marshall Plan are now invited by the State Department to America.**

"Czechoslovakia is a Catholic country (Bohemia and Moravia 75 percent, Slovakia 80 percent), and yet the principal men in this Council are either Protestants or atheists. It is certainly not raising a religious issue to ask if such an arrangement is equitable. Again the question arises: whose advice, if any, is being followed by the State Department in this strange procedure?"—(AMERICA, March 19, 1949).

the "memorandum" has proved its usefulness for the Beneš Czechs, serving as a criterion or guide for "policy makers" in the United

States Government, particularly in regard to the question of what exiles from Czecho-Slovakia could be considered "trustworthy and reliable experts" on Czecho-Slovakian matters.

In 1949, after our State Department (Acheson) **invited** the Beneš Czechs to the U. S. A. and gave a batch of blank visas to Dr. Hubert Ripka, right-hand man of Dr. Beneš, at that time in Paris, the Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings were brought to the United States at taxpayers' expense to advise our Government and its various departments and agencies on the matter of how to fight Communism and the Communists and outsmart Soviet Russia in the field of psychological warfare! The NEW YORK TIMES stated at that time (Feb. 6, 1949) that **"they plan to set up what will be, in effect, a Czechoslovak Government in exile"** — and previous to that date (Jan. 5, 1949), the same source reported the arrival of a "High Escaped Czech" — Arnost Heidrich — who, according to well-informed Czechs is neither of Slovak nor Czech origin, as follows:

"Arnost Heidrich, Secretary General of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office and for fourteen years legal and political adviser to the late Dr. Edward Benes, has escaped from Prague and came to Washington with a detailed story of Communist activities and plans in Eastern Europe. M. Heidrich, a white-haired 59-year-old civil servant who is well known and trusted by the United States Government, was brought here by United States authorities and has made a full report of conditions in Czechoslovakia to the State Department." Apparently, Mr. Heidrich, like Dr. Eduard Beneš, knew all about Communist activities and plans!

After their arrival in the U. S., the Beneš Czechs, (Ripka Zenkl, Taborsky, Peroutka, Ingr, Majer, Firt, Procházka, etc.) and their Slovak hirelings (Lettrich, Kočvara, Hodža, Papánek, Fránek, Slávik, Krno, Múdry-Šebík, etc.) organized the "COUNCIL OF FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA" and set up headquarters in Washington. As "experts," they were soon employed by the Free Europe Committee (Radio Free Europe), various universities, the VOA (USIA), CIA, Library of Congress, the Pentagon, and other agencies of U. S. Government in one capacity or another.

I have said it before and I repeat it again that I am convinced that the Beneš Czechs exercise great influence and practically control the so-called "Czechoslovak" unit or division of both the RFE and also the VOA (USIA) in regard to "reliability" of personnel, exile and otherwise, employed. In the light of the facts uncovered during the past nine years, why are they still tolerated in 1958?

The Beneš Czechs and their Slovak hirelings have been discredited by their own peoples at home, so why should we curry their favor? The Slovak League of America and the Slovak organizations affiliated with it have brought this to the attention of our Government, the Free Europe Committee, and the USIA (VOA) on several occasions, but practically nothing was done to remedy the situation. Someone, it seems, has decreed that patriotic Slovaks must be ignored and discriminated against; and this applies practically to Slovak and Czech Catholics — they simply are not wanted; Hence, I am strongly inclined to believe that the 1948 "MEMORANDUM" of the Beneš Czechs is still considered valid by some VIP in official Washington. So the "expert" advisers to de-

partment heads of U. S. Government on all Slovak and Czech matters still remain at their posts at our expense on the strength of a memorandum prepared by the Beneš Czechs — a memorandum whose language reveals that its authors just as well might have been the Czech Reds, or their “comrades” in Moscow!

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SLOVAK NATIONALISM:

THE ORIGINS OF SLOVAK NATIONALISM

B. S. Buc, Ph.D.

1. Nationalism and the Existing “Status Quo”

To speak of the Slovaks is to touch upon a problem which at the present time has assumed vital and world-wide proportions, namely, the problem of nationalism. Nationalism is one of the most discussed issues in the modern political world. The reason lies in the more extensive definition by which nationalism refers not only to the lofty devotion of citizens towards their native country, also known as patriotism, but especially to a revolutionary movement of our modern society. Thus, nationalism is giving rise to dangerous political tensions in various sectors of the globe and threatening to disintegrate the political **status quo** of many long established nations. There is need, therefore, of a thorough understanding of all its components, motives, and objectives.

Slovak nationalism involves a lofty devotion to a native land, but as yet has not developed serious revolutionary characteristics. It has not, therefore, attracted significant attention from the international community. Nevertheless, it has grown from almost complete oblivion to such proportions that it must be taken into consideration as one of the most important forces shaping the future destiny of Central Europe.

From the beginning of its existence Slovak nationalism was nurtured by ideas which followed the revolutionary changes of medieval, feudal society and laid the foundation for the birth of new political systems which we call “Western Democracy.” But Slovak nationalism is Western not because of its ideological relationship alone. During

the First World War Western Democracies actually gave it physical support so that it could achieve partially the fulfillment of its ambitions. In the words of Don Luigi Sturza: **"Once a country or a people has succeeded in developing a consciousness of its own personality and in affirming it in the struggles with which history has confronted it, there is no stopping."**(1)

Dissatisfied with only a partial fulfillment of its political ambitions, Slovak nationalism is endeavoring at the present time to attain the final goal sought by every nationalism, that is, complete national independence in its own state.

Generally, under the term of nationalism fall most present political efforts that seek to alter the existing **status quo** which was formed in past centuries by great powers and the maintaining of which occupies their chief interests.

The modern nationalistic movements seem to be governed more by sentiment than by realism in their outlook with regard to geographical, economic and strategic set-ups. From the standpoint of economy, they aim at breaking up time-tested, unified wholes and to form instead economically and strategically isolated inactive groups that easily succumb to one or another imperialism.

The characteristic quality of these modern nationalistic movements is revolutionism. Under this term we must consider not only the violence that is perpetrated in the struggle for liberation, but above all the effort exerted to establish society upon new foundations. Such an arrangement cannot be realized in the present because its formation is always dependent upon a temporal and historical evolution. It is, however, difficult to condemn nationalistic movements from the standpoint of being guided more by sentiment than by realism. They are emotional only because they are striving to undo what we hold as sacred, accepted forms of the past; or they are realistic in that they endeavor to fulfill the modern principle of freedom and equality not only in the case of individuals, but also in the case of the organized groups that we call nations.

2. Nature of Modern Nationalism

Modern nationalism is very difficult to define precisely because its concept is not fixed and varies in scope and meaning.

Nationalism is what the nationalists have made it; it is not a neat fixed concept, but a varying combination of beliefs and conditions. It may be in part founded on myth, but myths, like other errors, have a way of perpetuating themselves and of becoming not true but real. The fact is that myth and actuality, and truth and error, are inextricably intermixed in modern nationalism. The only reasonable way to get at the nature of nationalism is to determine what beliefs — however true or false — and what conditions — however misinterpreted — are commonly present. The following ten are here hypothetically advanced. No claim is laid for their infallibility or finality.

1. A certain defined (often vaguely) unit of territory (whether possessed or coveted).
2. Some common cultural characteristics, such as language (or widely understood languages), customs, manners, and literature (folk tales and lore are the beginning). If an individual believes he shares these, and wishes to continue sharing them, he is usually said to be a member of the nationality.
3. Some common dominant social (as Christian) and economic (as capitalistic or recently communistic) institutions.
4. A common independent or sovereign government (type does not matter) or the desire for one. The "principle" that each nationality should be separate and independent is involved here.
5. A belief in a common history (it can be invented) and in a common origin (often mistakingly conceived to be racial in nature).
6. A love or esteem for fellow nationals (not necessarily as individuals).
7. A devotion to the entity (however little comprehended) called the nation, which embodies the common territory, culture, social and economic institutions, government, and fellow nationals, and which is at the same time (whether organism or not) more than their sum.
8. A common pride in the achievements (often military more than cultural) of this nation and a common sorrow in its tragedies (particularly its defeats).
9. A disregard for the hostility to other (not necessarily all) like groups, especially if these prevent or seem to threaten the separate national existence.
10. A hope that the nation will have a great and glorious future (usually in territorial expansion) and become supreme in some way (in world power if the nation is already large) (2).

Applying to the Slovaks, these ten characteristic points upon which all modern nationalisms are supposed to be based, we arrive at the conclusion that Slovak nationalism is based upon:

1. a certain defined territory;
2. its own language and culture;
3. the Christian foundation of its society;
4. the "principle" that Slovaks must live in their own independent state;
5. the knowledge of its own long history;
6. a love for fellow nationals;
7. a devotion to their territory,
8. more upon a common sorrow for national tragedy than pride in national achievements;
9. a certain hostility to those who have attempted, or are attempting, to enslave the Slovak people;
10. a hope that the nation will be glorious, but definitely not an ambition to make Slovakia a decisive world power.

3. Geographical and Historical Suppositions of Slovak Nationalism

The territory occupied by the Slovaks lies in the heart of Europe. Although Slovakia is a small country, it is, nevertheless, larger in area than Albania, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Holland, or Switzerland. Slovakia today comprises an area of 48,957 square kilometers, or 22,500 square miles, and approximates the size of Belgium and Holland combined, or the size of West Virginia in the U. S. A. Its present population is 3,800,000.

Francis Hrušovský, eminent Slovak historian, has described the political significance of the geographical position of Slovakia in the following words:

"Slovakia lies along the northern shores of the Central Danube, where the eastern slopes of the Alps touch the western slopes of the Carpathian mountains, and its territory covers the northern part of the Danubian basin. Since the dawn of European history, a route has run through the gate of the Danube, connecting the West and the East. This important route was intersected at this very point by several routes which ran from south to north and linked the coasts of the Adriatic with those of the Baltic and North Seas. From earliest times, nations seeking new homelands have flowed over these routes which intersect along the Danube. Through the portals of the Danube marched aggressive conquerors, and the soil of this land frequently served as the stage for bloody conflicts. The nation which settled in such a bustling spot experienced little peace, continually having to defend itself to keep from being swept away by the raging

storms. In defending its life its strength was exhausted and hence could not grow and develop as it might have in a peaceful atmosphere where the catastrophe is not always imminent... When, at the end of the 4th Century, the Romans had to withdraw from the Danube, and when, subsequently, the German tribes also left that territory, the Slavs flooded Central Europe from the Baltic Sea to the Balkans" (3).

Since the sixth century, therefore, the territory of Slovakia has been the homeland of the Slovaks and their forefathers. During the first two centuries the Slav (Slovanic) tribes, whose descendants are the present-day Slovaks, did not enjoy an independent life. For from the sixth to the eighth century, the entire central European sector suffered under the dominating sway of warring Avars who carried on attacks upon Western Europe. At the end of the eighth century, however, Charlemagne successfully destroyed the power of the Avar Empire. This victory enabled the tribes of the Slovanic races to begin efforts at unification and soon to establish the Greater Moravian Empire. This era then saw the definite beginning and unfolding of the history of the Slovaks, although most of the Slavs can trace from it the partial origins, if not of their political, at least of their cultural life.

The brief but exceedingly rich history of the Greater Moravian Empire is a source of "common pride in the achievements of this nation and a common sorrow in its tragedies"(4) for Slovak nationalism.

Without a doubt, it would be difficult to prove that during the existence of the Greater Moravian Empire the Slovaks constituted an element independent and separate from the other Slav (Slovanic) races. They constituted a part of the Slav races who, during the migration of nations, crossed the Carpathian boundaries and settled in the valley of the Danube and Moravian rivers. Furthermore, no clearly defined boundaries of Greater Moravia existed. Nevertheless, we know that it covered a large part of the territory surrounding the Carpathian mountains. In this sector the interests of the Western Franks met with the interests of the Byzantine Empire. The empire of Great Moravia was located in the territories of present-day Slovakia and Moravia, which were inhabited at that time by

the predecessors of the Slovaks, with the Czechs settling in the land of the Boii, Bohemia.

The first documentary evidence of Great Moravia dates from the year 822. In that year a parliamentary gathering took place at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, which included representatives of Great Moravia. The leaders of Great Moravia had to maintain constant vigilance against the frequent attacks of the Franks who, under the guise of spreading Christianity, sought to make vassals of the Great Moravian rulers⁽⁵⁾. For a time the inhabitants of Great Moravia were successful. But to the danger which threatened them from the part of the Franks was soon added the danger of harrassing Magyar nomads of Mongolian origin, who had then begun to make inroads into Central Europe. After many bitter and wearisome struggles they finally succumbed either in the year 906 or 908.

Though short-lived, the Great Moravia's eventful life proved itself an inexhaustible source of heroic material for the poets of the budding Slovak nationalism of the 17th and 18th centuries. Faithful to the mythical tendencies of Romanticism and Pan-Slavism, Slovak authors exploited successfully Great Moravia's hidden past and thus created in the almost extinct group of Slovak people a feeling of greatness and national pride. Slovakia was made by them the cradle of all Slav (Slovanic) cultures and the Slovaks the leading Slav nation in the conversion of the other Slavs from backward paganism to the higher cultural life of Christianity. These conclusions were reached on the ground of two testimonials which, even at the present time, bear witness of Great Moravia's cultural role and political importance for the Slovanic nations. These testimonials are: a church built in 830 A.D., and the Slovanic liturgy with its Cyrillic alphabet. They represented two different tendencies that play a big role in Great Moravia's politics on account of her vital position between the German Franks and the Byzantines, respectively between the Latin and Eastern (Greek) form of Christianity.

The little church in the Slovak city of Nitra, portions of whose walls are still preserved in the foundations of the

Cathedral church, is a testimonial of German influence and of the Latin trend in the Great Moravian era.

It was built by Pribina — one of the first known rulers on Slovak soil who chose Nitra as the seat of government — and blessed by Adalram, the Archbishop of Salzburg, in the year 833(6). From this fact it is evident that Pribina brought with him the Germanic influence which he absorbed under the rulers of the Frankish Empire. For Slovak nationalism, however, this church is an historical indication of the bent of the forefathers of Slovakia to Western culture, so clearly manifested in the Latin form of Christianity.

The culture-religious testimonial, linking Great Moravia with the present, is the Slovanic liturgy still faithfully followed in Orthodox churches and the Greek Catholic churches of the Eastern Rite. The alphabet of the Russians and other Slavs also has its origin in Great Moravia.

Not all the rulers favored Germanic influences as freely and sympathetically as Pribina. Rather they opposed them because of their desire to preserve as great an independence as possible. This opposition led at first to internal dissensions and later manifested itself in sincere efforts to find means of christianizing the Slovak and other Slovanic tribes of Great Moravia other than that of Frankish missionaries. During the internal upheaval Mojmir replaced Pribina. The defeat and departure of Pribina signifies the removal of Frankish influence and a broader unification of all Slovak and other Slovanic tribes under one ruler. The rulers of the Franks, however, always used the matter of Christianizing the Slavs as an excuse to meddle in the internal affairs of Great Moravia. The rulers of Great Moravia were therefore left with but one choice: to seek out such means of christianizing their subjects which would enable them to restrain every occasion of the Frankish Empire to circumscribe Slovak independence and subject the people to vassalage.

This was the aim of Rastislav, Mojmir's successor, when he turned to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III — according to a preserved legend — with a request to send a bishop and teacher, who would enlighten and instruct his

people in the true faith and in their own tongue”(7). Emperor Michael III must have realized the political implications of Rastislav's request, for he sent at once, in the year 863, to Great Moravia two of his most worthy and learned men — the Saints Cyril and Methodius who are honored today not only as Slovak Apostles, but also as “Apostles of the Slavs.” Though Saints Cyril and Methodius were Greeks, they nevertheless understood the language of the Slovaks. They began their missionary labors by introducing a new alphabet and by translating the Bible and other religious books into the language of the people. Thus, through their efforts, was founded the Slovanic liturgy.

Frankish bishops, however, saw in these innovations an opportune occasion to cause discord, for at this time divisions appeared which eventually ended in schism and divided the people into two camps, namely, the western and eastern forms of Christianity. Saints Cyril and Methodius desired to safeguard their methods of christianization in the eyes of Rome and obtained permission from the Pope to conduct the liturgy in Slovanic. But the political pressure of the Franks upon Great Moravia steadily grew stronger and stronger. It sapped the strength of the Slovak rulers and succeeded in bringing about the catastrophe of 906, i.e., the downfall of Great Moravia. The missionary labors of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the central European sphere of activity came to an end. Their pupils wended their way to the Balkans and lived among the Bulgarians and other Slovanic races, who eventually became the heirs of that cultural seed first sown in the confines of present-day Slovakia. With the downfall of Great Moravia, new states gradually began to take form in Central Europe, namely, the Czech, Polish, and Hungarian. For a thousand years this well-established portion of Great Moravia became a part of Hungarian rule. When, however, new ideas in the far distant future offer new opportunities for organizing a society, Great Moravia once again comes to life in the minds of its present generations, and becomes for the Slovaks the source of their “common pride in the achievements of this nation and a common sorrow in its

tragedies"(8). The brief but very dramatic events of Great Moravia play a very important role in the reawakening of Slovak nationalism: they give it an historical substance for its ambitions to statehood and offer countless historical examples of past heroism as an incentive in its present attempts to achieve these ambitions.

The link between Great Moravia and present-day Slovak nationalism is more emotional than real, for the end of Great Moravia meant the end of its cultural and political influence within the area of Central Europe which is today called Slovakia. The Slavonic race residing at that time on the territory of what is now Slovakia, the forefathers of the Slovaks, definitely came under the sphere of influence of Latin Christianity and politically became a part of the Hungarian State. That they were not wholly absorbed by the Magyars during the many centuries of their life in the Hungarian State can be attributed only to the cosmopolitan character of the Hungarian State and to the use of Latin as the official language in governmental and educational systems. The concepts "nation" and "nationality," as we know them today, probably did not exist at all at that time, and were certainly entirely different from the concept "state."

4. New Concepts: "People" and "Nation"

The origin of modern Slovak nationalism, as well as of all nationalism in Central Europe, must be determined from that period when, under the influence of the Enlightenment, great masses of hitherto enslaved peoples began to be aware of their distinctive group characteristics. Medieval, feudal society itself felt that the end was near for its outmoded social system and clamored for reform. These reforms were to better the conditions and status of the "people" so that they could ascend the European political stage as new and revolutionary actors. As decisive political actors, these "people" first appeared in the American Revolution, where they laid the foundations of American democracy as opposed to European aristocracy and its autocratic form of government. A further and more radically revolutionary appearance of these actors occurred

in the French Revolution which shook the foundations not only of France but of all Europe. Thanks to the military genius of Napoleon, the battlecry of these new revolutionary "people" flooded all of Europe with his soldiers.

In the political milieu of the Slovaks, under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the revolutionary "people" obtained certain rights emanating from the drastic reforms inaugurated by the emperor of "Enlightenment," Joseph II. Although the greater portion of these reforms had to be repealed because of the opposition of the yet powerful upper class, nevertheless much agitation and reaction ensued with the result that this empire found itself embroiled in a revolutionary cauldron — the presentiment of its eventual downfall.

In the language of the thinkers of the Enlightenment the concept "people" primarily denoted the social class of the poor as distinct from the class of aristocrats. It brought about revolutions of the poor against the rich, respectively of the underprivileged against the privileged. In this conflict, however, the established boundaries of the medieval states were not affected. When subsequently the German Romantic philosophers came to emphasize the importance of common history, language and culture, the cosmopolitan medieval European society started to split also along the new line of ethnographical groups, called nations. The result of it was that the long time established boundaries of the European states started to crack under the constant efforts of the ethnographical groups to emancipate themselves from the subjection of the other ethnographic groups that might have been predominating in their original states.

In the case of "people" there was much more concern over the freedom of the individual, whereas in the case of "nation" the struggle for the freedom of the groups, called nations, is uppermost. In those places where language boundaries were consonant with the boundaries of the state, the concept "nation"⁽⁹⁾, based upon a kinship of language, produced a greater national unity. Such was the situation in France and Germany. A homogeneous language produced among the Germans a strong feeling of fellowship and led to the unification of the Germans into a solid German state

under the leadership of Prussia. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, however, the language question became the root of great discord and shook the foundations of this mighty territory. The many nationalities under its sway, after asserting their individuality, began to demand their own rights and, abetted by Western Democracies, brought Austro-Hungary to complete dissolution.

This period of increasing European ferment brought forth also from the Slovaks their assertion for national independence from the other components of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, particularly from the Magyars. As the other nations under Austro-Hungarian domination, so too the Slovaks codified their national language and began to search for historical, ideological, and cultural evidence that would express their national individuality. At first this national reawakening bore the markings of Pan-Slavism, whereby the Slovaks sought to establish Slovakia as the cradle of all the Slovanic nations. Memories of Great Moravia played an important role in this regard, for in the minds of Pan-Slavism this empire was the first political manifestation of Slovaks as well as the other Slavs. Pan-Slavism was supported more by Slovak Lutherans rather than Catholics. The reason is that many Slovak Lutherans received their education in Germany where they had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Hegelian philosophy, which

laid a mystical foundation for the nation state on a high philosophical plane where God, the world-spirit, reason, nature, and history intermingled and became one. In the profound and seldom clear introductions to his *Philosophy of Right* and *Philosophy of History* he proclaimed that each people was imbued with a world force endowing it with peculiar spirit and special purpose, and that the state was the final embodiment of dialectic evolution flowing out of the historical experience and genius of a people (10).

Basing himself on the philosophical premises of Hegel, Herder came to the conclusion that the Roman and German nations had fulfilled their historical mission and that the future will belong to the Slovanic peoples. Because of their dove-like character, they will bring to the world a period of peace and gentleness. These claims were in complete opposition to historical facts, but as myths they were

instrumental in giving birth to a special heroic Pan-Slavistic literature. By exalting the mythological past of Slavic nations this literature gave rise to national pride.

On the other hand, the realistic politics in which the Slovaks had to engage in order to safeguard themselves from the Magyarizing efforts of the rulers of the Hungarian State, led them gradually to abandon the utopian idea of Pan-Slavism and to assert instead their distinct national individuality. From 1860 to the end of the First World War, they had to undergo a period of severe trials at the hands of the Magyars, who attempted to accomplish in a few decades what they had failed to attain in centuries, that is, the assimilation of non-Magyar nations in Hungary.

It is difficult to say whether they could have succeeded in this venture, because the First World War disrupted their attempts. The Slovaks, as well as the other nations in Austro-Hungary, found themselves in new political circumstances, and gained more favorable opportunities to develop their distinct national traits.

5. Progress of Slovak Nationalism After the First World War

The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after the First World War opened up a great opportunity for the development of Slovak national sentiment. Slovakia was taken away from the Magyars. With its inclusion in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Slovakia for the first time in history obtained defined boundaries. The importance of this historical step cannot be minimized, for Slovak nationalism began to lean upon a certain well defined territory. The separation of the Slovaks from the Magyars broke also the tie binding the former to their feudal order and opened up opportunities for the near revolutionary development of a new democratic, Slovak society within the confines of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Through the medium of schools, the Magyar attempt to assimilate the Slovaks was halted. In the Czecho-Slovak Republic the national Slovak language became the language not only of the people but also of the schools and official business. Thus, for the first time in history, opportunities arose for the formation of a distinct

Slovak culture, even though the centralizing efforts of the new Czecho-Slovak state, dominated by the Czechs, were opposed to such a development.

Although at the present time the vast majority of the Slovaks bears an unfriendly attitude toward inclusion in any form of Czecho-Slovakia, whether it be communist or democratic, it is self-evident that such was not the case during the First World War. Then the Slovaks accepted warm-heartedly and hopefully the creation of Czecho-Slovakia, for together with the Czechs they possessed a mutual kinship of language and culture as well as similar political ambitions. The present unfavorable attitude toward the Czechs is attributed to the failure of Czechs to fulfill their promises and agreements, that is, the failure to grant autonomy to Slovakia and the refusal to concede to the Slovaks ethnical and racial rights belonging to them as a distinct nation. Instead, the Czech majority in the Prague parliament decided to form the so-called "**Czechoslovak**" nation by law, i.e., by means of the Czechoslovak constitution, whereby the Slovaks in practice were identified racially with the Czechs, and Slovakia was made completely dependent upon the central government in Prague.

Such an action was looked upon in Slovakia as a secret move to assimilate the Slovaks with the Czechs, and thus to deprive the Slovaks of their national individuality. Therefore, immediately after the creation of Czecho-Slovakia following the First World War, there arose in Slovakia a powerful movement for autonomy. This movement, warring against the concept "**Czechoslovak nation**" and the centralism based upon it, presents a new phase in the development of Slovak nationalism in the new and more favorable conditions of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Even though this movement never had a clear majority of the Slovaks, but "this," as Mr. C. A. Macartney rightly points out, "does not necessarily mean that the majority of the Slovaks were in favor of a centralized Czechoslovak Republic. The elections were not fought on the issue of Autonomy versus Centralism, and material advantages were to be gained by voting for the Czechoslovak parties, especially for the always in-office Agrarians. In fact, apart for the small and cultured Lutheran minority, most Slovaks who voted for the democratic Czechoslovak parties were probably opportunists. Those who felt most strongly were usually Autonomists or Communists" (11.)

Little wonder, therefore, that the majority of Slovaks displayed no sorrow at Hitler's overthrow of Czecho-Slovakia and accepted joyfully the idea of establishing a separate Slovak state, even though it was widely felt that the conditions for beginning a separate existence during the revolutionary period of 1938-1939 were not very favorable. The existence of the Slovak Republic during the Second World War may appear to outside observers as the operation of those political elements is widely known as fascism, actually, however, the short-lived existence of the Slovak Republic indicates the final phase of the development of Slovak nationalism: the achieving of its own statehood. In spite of the situations in which the Slovaks have become involved since the last war, their efforts both in the free Western World and in Slovakia are concentrated as they never were before to restore independence to their country.

(1) **Nationalism and Internationalism**, New York, 1946; p. 16.

(2) Boyd C. Shafer: **Nationalism: Myth and Reality**, New York, Harcourt, Brace Company, 1954, pp. 7-8.

(3) **This is Slovakia**: Obrana Press, Scranton, 1955; pp. 2-6.

(4) Shafer: *op. cit.*; p. 7.

(5) Dr. František Bokes: **Dejiny Slovenska a Slovákov**, Bratislava, 1940; p. 31.

(6) Bokes: *op. cit.*, p. 33.

(7) Dr. Ludovít Zachár: **Borba za národnú slobodu**, Bratislava, 1931; p. 220.

(8) Shafer: *op. cit.*; p. 7.

(9) The reader should be reminded that the author of this treatise uses always the word "nation" to indicate an ethnographic group and not a nation-state.

(10) Boyd Shafer: **Nationalism: Myth and Reality**; p. 25.

(11) Seton Watson: **Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918-1941**, London, Hutchinson Co., 1945; pp. 176-177.

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WHO SAID IT?

"Conservative Catholic politics has no place in the twentieth century, nor can it exist in the proximity of the USSR. Politics of provocation is no positive politics. Denunciation of Communism, often supported by the shibboleth "For God and Country," can no longer be accepted even in view of the democratic evolution of the Slovak nation." — (Ferdinand Peroutka, a Beneš Czech, DNEŠEK, 11-20-47).

The History of Slovakia:

By PHILIP A. HROBAK

(Continued)

5. The city of Nitra was a significant crossroads in those times. An important highway went northward from the city, branched off into Trenčín and connected the Nitra valley with the Váh river country. This road continued northward through Prievidza to Vyšehrad on the Nitra and Turiec boundaries, then downriver towards the Váh where it connected with the Váh river road. This connection enabled Nitra to keep in touch with northern Slovakia and also with Poland.

6. Another road went out from Nitra towards the Danube to Ostrihom and Budín, and from there continued along the Danube to the Balkans. Two side roads branched off from this highway to the east: one turned from the mouth of the Ipel river, winding upstream into the valley of the Hornád, and then went into the valley of the Poprad river, and downstream to the Visla river into Poland; the other led from Budín along the southern foot of the Matra Mountain and the northern bank of the Tisa river into Zemplín and through the Šariš country to the north.

In addition to these main highways which connected Slovakia with the neighboring countries, numerous side-roads ran through the Slovak territory which connected individual Slovak regions and extended from valley to valley. These roads also went from castle to castle and, therefore, were called "castle roads" (*hradské cesty*).

CASTLES OF SLOVAKIA

A multitude of picturesque ruins of medieval castles is one of the special attractions of Slovakia. They bear witness of the centuries during which Slovakia was a frontier bulwark of Western European civilization against the continuous encroachment of the rapacious Turks. Life in those days was full of romance and danger.

The most ancient castles in Slovakia were already men-

tioned in the times of the Great Moravian Empire. Foremost among these was the Devín Castle, the residential citadel of the rulers of Great Moravia, which was an important border fortress near the Danube Gate even after Slovakia was annexed by Hungary. In the historical development of Slovakia, a significant role was played by the Nitra Castle which retained its importance in the succeeding centuries because of its strategic position.

Wooden forts preceeded the mighty stone edifices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The disastrous Mongol incursion of 1241 proved the inefficacy of the wooden structures and there followed a period of intensive building of castles with stone. This building activity continued well into the seventeenth century and ended with the foundation of Leopoldov in 1665 by Emperor Leopold I, which was closely modeled after Palma Nuova in Northern Italy.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the medieval castles no longer fulfilled the demands of military technique and, as the danger of further Turkish invasions ceased, their owners abandoned them to live in more comfortable quarters. Palaces replaced citadels. A few of the old castles were refashioned and to this day remain habitable. One of the largest and most interesting of the latter is at Bojnice which has no less than 218 halls and rooms, is encircled by wide moats, and has several massive, lofty towers.

Near the Danube river, marking the southern border of Slovakia during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, were the Ostrihom and Vyšehrad castles which belonged to Slovakia even though situated on the right bank of the Danube.

There were many fortresses along the Váh river, such as: Šintava, which guarded the passage across the Váh and which was later destroyed; Hlohovec, which towers over the gorge that connects the Váh region with the Nitra country; and farther to the north, the castles Bana (today "Veselé" near Piešťany), Beckov and Trenčín.

On the Nitra-Turiec frontier toward the extensive Vyšehrad Castle which lost its importance in the 13th century, Tekov Castle was in the southern part of Slovakia, in the

Hron country, and Hont Castle was in the Ipel valley. The Budíneč Castle was built on the northern slope of Mount Matra, and the Gemer Castle stood near the Bodrog river. In addition to these more significant castles of the 10-12th centuries, there were many other strongholds in Slovakia which provided protection and shelter for the people and their livestock in times of danger.

As to the number and picturesqueness of ruins, the Váh river compares favorably to the Rhine. The setting is possibly even more romantic and certainly more primitive. Many of the ruins are flanked by dense forests. There are some thirty of them, built mostly upon steep crags overlooking the river. In the Middle Ages they were quite impregnable. Standing aloof from human habitations of today, their very isolation transports the visitor in spirit to bygone centuries of armored knights and robber barons, to the years when royal authority was rather difficult to enforce. The owner was truly lord over the land which his eye could survey.

The mightiest and most accessible of the citadels on the Váh is at Trenčín. Between the years 1301—1321 it was the residence of the famous Matthew Čák, "lord of Váh and of the Tatras," who possessed more than thirty castles in different parts of the land. King Charles Robert of Hungary besieged him in vain. The only time the stronghold fell before an enemy was in 1528 after a month's arduous siege. The large stone cannon balls from this siege are still visible in the walls of the ruined castle. In 1663 the Turks and in 1704 Francis Rákoczy II tried to capture it, but failed. Fire reduced it to ruins in 1790.

The most extensive ruins in Slovakia is Spiš Hrad, situated in the Spiš region. Built of white limestone, it glistens six hundred feet above the surrounding landscape. It is huge, having no less than five large courtyards and 135 halls and rooms. The lookout tower has four stories. The walls are ten feet thick and reach an altitude of seventy feet. It is also one of the oldest castles in Slovakia, being mentioned already in the year 1120. It was abandoned in 1710 and devastated by fire in 1780.

Undoubtedly the most memorable of the ruins of Slo-

vakia is magnificent Devín, situated not far from Bratislava, some five miles towards Vienna. Devín is unique. It is unlike anything else to be seen in Europe. A romantic complex of ruins loom some 240 feet above the confluence of the Danube and Morava rivers, right on the frontier between Slovakia and Austria. Here end the Carpathians, and across the Danube commence the Alps. The view from Devín is exquisitely beautiful. Regardless of season and weather it rewards the visitor with a vista which penetrates the soul. Towards sunrise you behold the majestic Danube flowing swiftly towards the Black Sea. Along its left bank are hills adorned with deciduous forests, and on the slopes, exposed to the southern sun, are vineyards, small and quiltlike, as are the fields on the more level opposite side of the stream. Also there are forests, restful to gaze upon, which ascend hills, the outposts of the Alps.

During the first two centuries of our era Devín served as an outpost of the Roman Empire against the turbulent Marcomanni and Quadi, Germanic tribes living north of the Danube. It was fortified by the fourteenth legion. With the advent of the Slovaks about the sixth century, the place received its present appellation, named probably after the national goddess "**Deva**" (girl, maiden). It became a refuge from the ruthless Uralo-Altaic Avars who held to the plains and to the swamps. As the Slovaks became united and powerful, it became one of the principal centers. It was here that King Louis the German besieged the Slovak Rastislav, ruler of the Great Moravian realm, without avail in the year 864.

Right beneath the ruins lies the town of Devín, exotic and appealing, where life is placid, more like the gently flowing Morava than the more energetic Danube. Towards sunset you see the fertile plains of Austria, park-like scenery with villages and an occasional manor set in woods and fields. You see the Danube approaching, undulating, and forming many wooded islets. Across the Danube to the south you behold the Austrian town of Hainburg nestled beneath the ruins of the historic fortress of Altenburg, the Carnuntum of the Romans, headquarters of one of their legions. Finally, on the horizon to the southwest, the real Alps meet your avid gaze. Looking about upon the wonder-

ful panorama, you forget the woes and worries of everyday life and for the moment become a poet to whom the world is a paradise.

Great Moravia, divided and embroiled, collapsed in 906 before the savage onrush of the Magyar horsemen. Devín, however, remained in the hands of the Slovaks well into the eleventh century. In 1683 it successfully withstood a siege by the Turks. The destruction of the castle was due to Napoleon who, in 1809, ordered it to be razed. Despite the fact that of the once mighty stone castle only two medieval towers and a few walls have been preserved, the ruins, nevertheless, present a majestic appearance. That which remains is stately and imposing. The site of Devín is truly immense. Its expanse is large enough for a dozen ordinary castles or fortresses. That, as well as its incomparable location, gives it majesty. The places where there were once lofty walls and wide moats can still be clearly distinguished.

Devín is prehistoric as well as historic ground. Man was here long before the commencement of the Christian era. Bits of pottery from the Hallstatt period and remains of abodes from the second La Tene period have been unearthed by archeologists, who have been carrying on extensive excavations since 1923. The future is likely to further extend the past. For untold centuries it was strategically the most vital point of Central Europe. In its immediate vicinity were fought the battles which determined the fate of the heart of the continent.

(To be continued)

"The Deliverance of Sister Cecilia" — Farrar, Straus and Young, 360 pgs., \$3.75. — The book tells the story of a Slovak nun who helped many Slovaks escape from their Communist-dominated land to the west and then had to flee for her life herself, when the Reds learned about her activity. Sister Cecilia told her story to William Brinkley, assistant editor of *LIFE* magazine, who then wrote the book. Read this exciting book. Order your copy from SLOVAKIA.

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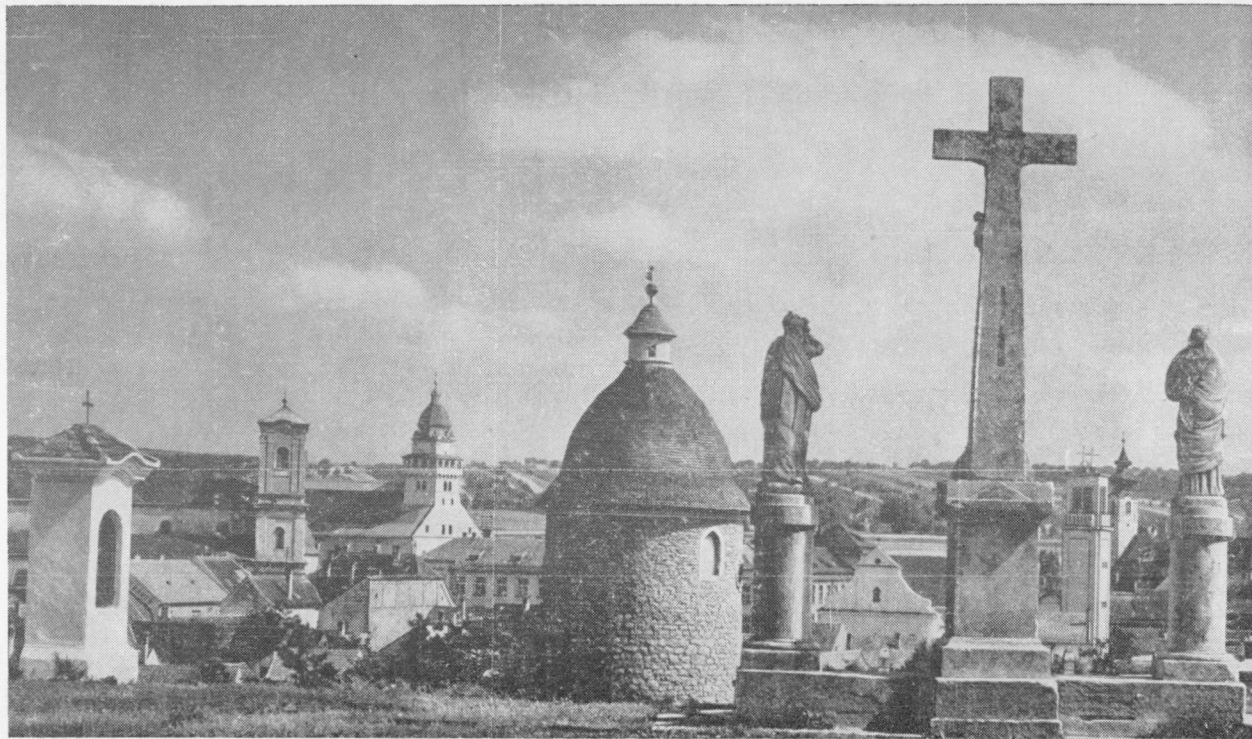
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SKALICA, SLOVAKIA: A Roman chapel (rotunda) of the 12th century